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3

Contents. 3 vols E. Et

7 Sermons preached at Boston Thursday Lecture
P.P. 157 Boston 1749

Discourse on Anniversary of the death of
King Charles 1st P.P. 54 Boston 1750

Sermon on death of Prince of Wales
P.P. ~~1751~~ 39 Boston 1751

Election Sermon
(autograph) P.P. 52 Boston 1754

Sermon occasioned by the Earthquakes
P.P. 72 Boston 1755

2 Thanksgiving Sermons upon Success of his
Majesty's Arms P.P. 57 Boston 1758.

2 Thanksgiving Sermons upon same, and the
reduction of Quebec P.P. 64 & Appendix
Boston 1759.

Ll. 3661

John Gerald

To his much esteemed Friend Doct. Bl

of Providence

Dr. *Mayhew*'s

TWO

Thankſgiving-Diſcourſes,

October 25*th*. 1759.

TWO DISCOURSES

DELIVERED

OCTOBER 25th. 1759.

BEING the Day appointed by Authority to be obſerved

AS

A Day of public THANKSGIVING,

FOR THE

Succeſs of His Majeſty's Arms,

More particularly in the

Reduction of QUEBEC,

THE

Capital of *CANADA*.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

Containing a brief Account of two former Expeditions againſt that City and Country, which proved unſucceſsful.

BY

JONATHAN MAYHEW, D.D.

Paſtor of the Weſt Church in BOSTON.

BOSTON; *NEW-ENGLAND*:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

SOME things omitted in delivering the following diſcourſes, on account of their length, are inſerted in this publication. Some conſiderable alterations, beſides, have ſince been made in the ſecond of them, compoſed, both in haſte, and while the author was under bodily indiſpoſition. For which alterations, if they ſhould happen to be amendments, as they were deſigned, he concludes, he ſhall fall under no blame from any of thoſe that heard them, and have ſignified their deſire to ſee them publiſhed.

DISCOURSE I.

OF the great Things which GOD hath done for us.

PSALM CXXVI. Verſe 3d.

THE LORD hath done great Things for us, whereof we are glad.

NO comment is neceſſary for the explanation of theſe words, which are very plain of themſelves: Neither is there need of any preface, or introduction, in order to accommodate them to the preſent joyful occaſion; ſince, it is ſuppoſed, they muſt appear, even at firſt view, ſufficiently adapted to it. We may therefore immediately adopt them ourſelves, and apply them to the buſineſs of this day. For the Lord hath, indeed, done great things for us, whereof we are doubtleſs glad; having abundant reaſon to be ſo. And, in the language of the context, well may "our mouth be now filled with laughter, and our tongue with ſinging."

It is propoſed, by divine aſſiſtance, in the firſt place, to repreſent to you thoſe great things which God hath lately done for us, for our land and nation; and which are the occaſion of our being aſſembled together in his houſe of praiſe at this time.

In the next place will be ſhown, the propriety of being glad and rejoicing on ſuch occaſions, and what great reaſon we have for it at preſent; more eſpecially on account of that important event, which is the more particular and immediate occaſion of this ſolemnity.

Some needful regulations of our joy on this occaſion, will then be ſubjoined; that it may be taught to flow in a proper channel, and be agreeable to our character as chriſtians, inſtead of degenerating into the mirth of fools.

And the whole will be cloſed with ſuch reflections and exhortations, as the occaſion itſelf naturally ſuggeſts; and which may, therefore, be particularly ſeaſonable at this time.

To return then, it will be proper, in the firſt place,

I. To repreſent to you thoſe great things which God hath lately done for us, for our land and nation; and which are the occaſion of our being now aſſembled together in his houſe of praiſe. And altho' many of you may, perhaps, have a more accurate knowledge, a juſter conception, and a deeper ſenſe, of theſe favors of heaven, than I have myſelf; yet it will be good for us to talk of them, to revolve them in our minds, and ſpeak of the great goodneſs of our God to us, with reference to them. If I do not inform you of any thing,

thing, which you knew not before; yet I may poſſibly revive the remembrance of certain mercies, which had ſlipped the memories of ſome; and contribute towards fixing both them, and others, in your minds; which, it is conceived, will be anſwering a valuable end. For the more thorough, or deeper ſenſe, we have of theſe mercies, the more permanent it will be; and the more permanent it is, the more laſting will be our gratitude to God for them; and the more laſting our gratitude, the more ſuitable returns ſhall we make to him; which will be, in effect, beſt to anſwer the true ends of this ſolemnity.

It is propoſed, as was intimated before, to enlarge chiefly on that great and happy event, which is the principal, and more immediate occaſion, of our public rejoicing and thankſgivings at this time. My diſcourſe in the afternoon, will be in a manner confined to this event; which will alſo employ more of our time this morning, than any other particular one. However, it is humbly conceived, there will be no impropriety in taking a little larger compaſs, and extending our views, on this occaſion, even beyond America. Accordingly, if you pleaſe, we will introduce this intereſting affair, the reduction or ſurrender of the capital city of Canada, by taking a tranſient view of ſome other of our late military ſucceſſes, which preceeded it; looking back to the principal of thoſe, which have come to our knowledge ſince the time of our laſt general and public thankſgiving; and connecting theſe later with former ones, which were taken notice of on that occaſion.

As you may remember, we then ſaw the war in general going on proſperouſly on the ſide of Great-Britain and her allies. We then ſaw the enemy driven, with great loſs and ſlaughter, out of his Majeſty's

German dominions. We then also saw some successful descents made on the coasts of France, from whence we had been threatned, but just before, with an invasion, as at present. We then saw several of the enemy's fortresses, and one of her valuable settlements, on the coast of Africa, reduced; and subjected to the obedience of his Britannic Majesty. We then saw his Majesty's illustrious Prussian Ally, not only standing his ground against his numerous enemies, but victorious in divers instances; and, in particular, triumphant over the formidable Russian army. We then saw, here in America, the French fortress, usually called Frontinac, surrended to his Majesty's arms; and our troops returning from thence laden with the spoils of our enemies. We then saw the enemy driven from the river St. John; and the adjacent country secured to his Majesty; the whole Peninsula of Nova-Scotia having been before reduced, and well garrisoned by our troops. We then saw the British colours on the walls of Louisbourg; and the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John, in our possession. We then saw the trade of the enemy greatly distressed; and her maritime power much lessened: We saw the ports of Great-Britain and her colonies, filled with the merchantmen of France, and her private ships of war; while the ports of the enemy were mostly blocked up. We then saw the armed vessels of France on lake Ontario, burnt; and no inconsiderable part of her royal navy, taken, sunk, or otherwise destroyed. In fine, we then saw the commerce of the enemy, to appearance, almost ruined; her councils disconcerted, and her coffers low: the councils of Great-Britain firm and steady; her trade in a flourishing condition; and her fleets triumphant on every sea, where the British flag made its appearance.

It was judged not amiſs juſt to hint at theſe former ſucceſſes, with which heaven had favoured the Britiſh arms, before we came to thoſe later ones, which fall within the period mentioned above; and which are now to be ſpoken of. Only it is to be obſerved, that as this diſcourſe is not deſigned for an hiſtory, much leſs for a journal, of ſieges, voyages, and campaigns; ſo it muſt not be expected, that I ſhould be minutely circumſtantial; but only ſpeak of the great things which God has done for us, in a ſummary, general way; which, it is conceived, is the only one that is proper for this place and occaſion.

As things looked with a favourable and promiſing aſpect, where we left off above; ſo it muſt be acknowledged with all gratitude, that God has not diſappointed the hopes, which thoſe ſmiles of his providence had raiſed in us. The war has gone on with great and remarkable ſucceſs, on the part of Great Britain, ever ſince, as well as for ſome time before, our laſt general thankſgiving; * which is now almoſt a year. God has done many conſiderable, and ſome great things for us, in this time; while our loſſes and diſadvantages have, comparatively ſpeaking, been few and ſmall.

Since the period laſt referred to, we have had authentic advices from the Eaſt-Indies, of an advantage gained there over the enemy's fleet in an engagement, the conſequence of which was the utter loſs of ſeveral of their capital ſhips. And altho', about the ſame time, the enemy obtained an advantage by land, in thoſe parts; yet there is great reaſon to hope, that by means of the ſuccours ſoon after received there, whatever loſs we ſuſtained is at leaſt retrieved, if not more than retrieved; whereas that of the enemy could not be ſo.

But

* November 23. 1758.

But leaving thoſe diſtant parts, the ſituation of our affairs in which, we have leſs certainty of, let us come to Europe; and take a curſory view of it there.

At the opening of the preſent ſeaſon for the deſtructive buſineſs of war, the French King thought proper to ſend a prodigious army into Germany. This, in conjunction with other troops in thoſe parts, was deſtin'd to ravage his Majeſty's Hanoverian dominions; and, in ſhort, to conquer, and take poſſeſſion thereof, for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: Who, if he reſemble his immediate Predeceſſor, of ſuch famous memory for diſturbing and plundering his neighbours, can no more be ſatisfied, either with conquered, or ſtolen provinces and countries, than "he that loveth "ſilver can be ſatisfied with ſilver, or he that loveth "abundance, with increaſe." Whoſe *Greatneſs*, in its nature and riſe, was not very different from that of the *great* Chaldean Monarch, thus characterized in ſacred writ: "He is a proud man, neither keepeth at "home, who enlargeth his deſire as hell, and is as "death, and cannot be ſatisfied; but gathereth unto "him all nations, and heaping unto him all people. — "Wo to him that increaſeth that which is not his! "How long? — Becauſe thou haſt ſpoiled many na-"tions, all the remnant of the people ſhall ſpoil thee; "becauſe of men's blood, and for the violence of the "land —" ‖

But not to digreſs: This deſign of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty upon Hanover, had almoſt ſucceeded, and taken effect; ſo that all the friends to the liberties of Europe, who are of courſe enemies to the ambitious views of France, ſtood aghaſt, as it were; and trembled for the conſequence of a general battle, which was now unavoidable; the army on which, under God, the

‖ Habak. II. 5, — 8.

the ſalvation of that country depended, being inferior in number, at leaſt by one half, to the united forces of that, which ſtood ready to devour her to the very heart, having before ſcarce half gorged itſelf with her exterior, and leſs eſſential parts. In this critical and memorable juncture, it pleaſed God to inſpire Prince Ferdinand with ſuch wiſdom and magnanimity, and his comparatively ſmall army of Britiſh and Hanoverian troops, with ſuch invincible bravery and ardor, as not only to maintain their ground, but to gain a compleat victory. This prodigious army they entirely routed, not without great ſlaughter; took their artillery, magazines, &c. purſued them to the Weſer, and into it; where thouſands of them periſhed in the waters, as the proud Pharaoh and his hoſt periſhed in the Red Sea. And altho' there were nothing preternatural in this caſe, as in the other; yet it ſeems, upon the whole, to have been a remarkable interpoſition of providence: So that Prince Ferdinand, who is as much renowned for his piety, as for his great military virtues, might on this occaſion have adopted, with great propriety, the ſong of Moſes, on that alluded to above,—"I will ſing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed glorioufly; the horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea.—Pharaoh's chariots and his hoſt —his choſen captains alſo, are drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them; they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone. Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; thy right hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy." There is another ſacred ſong, which all his Majeſty's Hanoverian ſubjects might, with peculiar propriety adopt, on occaſion of this memorable deliverance from impending ruin. —"If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, now may *Hanover* ſay; if it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us; then

then they had ſwallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us. Then the waters had overwhelmed us—the proud waters had gone over our ſoul. Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our ſoul is eſcaped as a bird out of the ſnare of the fowlers; the ſnare is broken, and we are eſcaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

But to proceed to ſome other matters, which more immediately concern Great Britain and her dependencies, though not our gracious Sovereign; whoſe hereditary German dominions may naturally and juſtly claim a great ſhare in his royal care and affections: The French have been meditating, or at leaſt pretending to meditate, a deſcent upon the iſland of Britain, with a formidable army; and again to bring the Pretender on the ſtage. Yea, their preſumption has talk'd, and vaunted itſelf of a conqueſt of thoſe kingdoms; ſo that they ſeem, in their own vain imagination, to have anticipated ſo great a triumph. And if they have not been in earneſt, at leaſt their preparations for an invaſion, have been ſo vaſt and expenſive, as might naturally make one believe, they were: For it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, they would be at ſuch a prodigious expence of labour and money, without any deſign to put their threats in execution; and ſo, in the event, to make themſelves the jeſt of Europe, which they have ſometimes done at a much cheaper rate; and might doubtleſs have done ſo again. But whatever their real intentions might have been by theſe formidable preparations, Great-Britain, on her part, has been attentive to guard againſt the worſt. Proper diſpoſitions have been made on her own coaſts for the reception of the enemy; and at the ſame time, the ports of France near the Britiſh

tiſh channel, have been ſo well watch'd and guarded by our ſuperior fleets, that the enemy, altho' they had had a ſufficient force, and all things in readineſs to make a deſcent, have not yet had it in their power to leave their own coaſts, without almoſt the certain loſs of their whole army and armament, with a great part of their navy. Yea, divine providence has ſo favour'd us, that one of the Britiſh admirals has had it in his power to enter one of the enemy's ports, where theſe grand preparations were making; and to deſtroy a part thereof, with ſome of their ſtores and magazines, ſome of their ſhipping, and even a conſiderable part of the city itſelf, near which they were. †

ANOTHER of our admirals, or at leaſt part of his ſquadron, not long after, approached ſo near their principal port, * where their chief maritime ſtrength was collected, as to bring off ſome of the ſhips carrying ſupplies to them, even from under the fruitleſs fire of their caſtles and batteries.

BUT we have very lately had authentic advices of ſtill greater importance, reſpecting the good ſucceſs of a third Britiſh admiral, the ſame who commanded the fleet the laſt Year at the ſiege of Louiſbourg, ſtill freſh in all our memories. For when one of the enemy's ſquadrons was about joining their principal fleet, and in a fair way of effecting it, which might have proved of bad conſequence to us, this brave and ſucceſsful admiral, you know, opportunely diſcovered, attacked, and beat it; taking and deſtroying five or ſix capital ſhips; the remainder, or at leaſt the moſt of them, being obliged to betake themſelves to a neutral port; and there reduced, in their extremity, to implore convoy of a neutral power, to ſee them ſafe back again into their own, ‖ from whence their evil genius had tempted them to depart. But in

† Havre de Grace. * Breſt. ‖ Toulon.

in vain; being ſtill blocked up by a ſuperior force; ſo that we need not wholly deſpair of having further accounts of them, which may be agreeable to us.

I MUST not omit, now I am hinting at ſome very intereſting occurrencies in Europe, relative to the war, to mention the laſt advices, which we hope may be depended on, reſpecting the victory of his Majeſty's great Pruſſian ally over the Ruſſian army, then within a few leagues of his own capital, which ſeemed in imminent danger of falling into the hands of thoſe Barbarians. If this advice be not premature, as we all hope it is not, this is a very important event, not only to his Pruſſian Majeſty, who has now ſtood as it were on the brink of a mighty precipice, for ſeveral years together; but alſo to our King, and to Great-Britain, whoſe intereſts are at preſent ſo cloſely connected with thoſe of that truly great and illuſtrious Monarch. May angels ſtill guard him! or rather He, who "maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire:" who giveth ſalvation unto kings; and has hitherto delivered FREDERIC his ſervant from the hurtful ſword!

BUT if you pleaſe, we will now come from Europe to America; which is coming ſtill nearer to ourſelves. But before I ſay any thing of the military operations on the continent, we will caſt an eye towards the American iſlands. For it is there we are to look for, and there that we may find, one of the great things which God has lately done for us. The reduction of Guadaloupe, with ſome of the adjacent iſlands, is truly ſuch; and, in ſome ſenſe the greater, becauſe effected by ſo ſmall a force, and under ſuch ſeemingly diſadvantageous circumſtances. This is almoſt, and perhaps may prove quite, an irretrievable and irreparable

loſs,

loſs, to that haughty, and all-graſping power which has incurred it; a loſs which ſhe will much longer feel and mourn, than we did that of the iſland of Minorca, at the beginning of the preſent war, during a leſs watchful miniſtry than the preſent. And to Great-Britain, this acquiſition alone, if maintained, will probably much more than make good all the damage ſhe ſuſtained in the former reſpect; which, if I miſtake not, time and experience make ſtill leſs and leſs conſiderable.

But while our thoughts are in that part of the world, where ſo valuable and noble an acquiſition has been made, by the bleſſing of God on the Britiſh arms; while our thoughts are engaged in that part of the world, I ſay, and on ſo worthy and joyful an occaſion; what is it that ſtill gives a kind of damp to my ſpirits; or rather, raiſes my indignation? While a Britiſh fleet rides ſafely and quietly in port, do I ſee an inferior French one ſailing, in a kind of triumph, from port to port, from iſland to iſland, from one month to another? Do I ſee our merchantmen, by ſcores, or hundreds, taken within hearing of the Britiſh cannon, if they were but diſcharged? Do I ſee them carried into port, in vaſt numbers, even by the enemy's privateers, from within a few leagues of our fleet, which looks patiently on? Do I hear our enemies ſaying, with ſcorn and inſult, "Where is the boaſted "courage of theſe Britons, who vainly pretend to be "lords of the ocean?" And do I hear even ſome of our friends whiſpering, "that all Britiſh comman-"ders have not the ſpirit which becomes their charac-"ter?"—But perhaps all this is but a reverie: If ſo, I will trouble you no longer with my dreams: But even dreams are not always falſe; and if there ſhould happen to be any thing of reality in this, ſuch things will

will doubtleſs be taken proper notice of by thoſe, who want neither the authority, nor the public ſpirit to do it.

And having thus taken a ſhort trip, if I may ſo expreſs it, to the American iſlands; and ſeen there, an important acquiſition lately made by his Majeſty's troops, under the favour of divine providence; let us now croſs over to the continent, in the affairs of which we ourſelves are moſt immediately concerned. And being arrived here, we will not now needleſly ramble about, backwards and forwards. But ſetting out from the ſouthermoſt ſcene of action, (I mean, where any thing of great importance has lately been done) which is indeed neareſt the parts from whence we laſt came, and proceeding thence to the northward, tho' the diſtance is great, thro' a wilderneſs, and tho' there are ſeveral noble proſpects in the way to detain and delight us, even in a wilderneſs; yet it will not be long before we arrive at the capital city of Canada. There our chief buſineſs lies: There it will, therefore, be at leaſt proper, if not neceſſary, to make a longer ſtay. And tho' it be a cold climate, I flatter myſelf, we ſhall find ſomething to warm and enliven us; or at leaſt to keep our blood from chilling.

To begin at the ſouthward then: It was not long after our laſt general thankſgiving, when we had the little expected, and therefore the more joyful tydings, that the Britiſh troops, even without the trouble of a ſiege, were in poſſeſſion of the French fortreſs on the forks of the Ohio, uſually called fort du Queſne; but now Pittſburgh, in honor to that great patriot, that wiſe, honeſt, and magnanimous Britiſh miniſter, during whoſe miniſtry, not only this, but all our other ſucceſſes, worth mentioning, ſince the preſent war commenced, have been obtained. This fortreſs, it

ſeems,

ſeems, was evacuated by the enemy on the near approach of our army. The acquiſition whereof is of great importance to our ſouthern colonies; not only with reference to the ſavages in thoſe parts, who are ſince, from enemies become friends; but alſo in reſpect of that moſt valuable and very extenſive country about it; which, in due time, may probably be peopled with Britiſh ſubjects.

And there are one or two circumſtances beſides, which may juſt be mentioned with relation hereto; and which may, perhaps, heighten the joy of ſome on account of this acquiſition. One is, that the preſent war with France, had its riſe more immediately from ſome differences reſpecting this country on the Ohio; here hoſtilities began; here it was, that the French had the aſſurance to ſeize, captivate, and murder, our traders and others, in a time of peace; as alſo to fortify on this river. But we have now the ſatisfaction to reflect, that the law of arms at leaſt, has decided in our favour one conſiderable point controverted between the two crowns; and which was indeed a principal ground of the preſent war, tho' by no means the only one.

Another circumſtance alluded to above, is, that we had received ſeveral repulſes and defeats from the enemy, in endeavouring to regain the poſſeſſion of the country we are ſpeaking of; from whence the enemy had, in a time of peace, driven the ſubjects of Great-Britain. The expence of one of the former expeditions againſt Du Queſne had been very great, through almoſt impracticable woods and mountains: And at laſt, when the Britiſh army had in a manner ſurmounted theſe difficulties, and thought themſelves almoſt ſure of ſucceſs, it was in a ſort ſurpriſed, and

put to the rout, by a lurking enemy which it hardly ſaw; as even the noble and generous Lion, in paſſing thro' a thicket, may be ſtung and poiſon'd to death by a vile inſidious ſerpent undiſcovered, which one of his paws, or only the flapping of his tail, might have deſtroyed in an inſtant. Thus it was, that a brave Engliſh general † here received his mortal wound from a foe, contemptible every where but in his own native woods and ſwamps; a general, whoſe valor, zeal, and indefatigable induſtry in the ſervice of his king and country, cannot be too much commended; and whoſe untimely fall can hardly be too much lamented.

I MUST confeſs, tho' to ſome it may perhaps ſeem a weakneſs, that theſe circumſtances preceeding this acquiſition, give an heightening to my own joy on account of it; tho' it be in itſelf ſo important in many reſpects, that it could not, even without theſe, fail to rejoice every well-wiſher to his Majeſty's American colonies.

BUT having ſtopped long enough here, conſidering the time allowed us for our journey; let us now haſten to the northward, as was propoſed. A very material acquiſition has been made this preſent campaign, of the fortreſs of Niagara. This was in itſelf a ſtrong fort, and defended by a numerous garriſon: Which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the importance of it to the enemy. For being ſituated between the two Lakes, Erie and Ontario, it commanded the communication between Canada and Louiſiana, the Miſſiſipi, &c. And beſides, it was ſo ſituated as to draw the commerce, and with it the affections, of numerous tribes of ſavages about thoſe lakes; as alſo

† General Braddock.

alſo to awe the ſix nations, our old friends and allies; and even to ſtagger their friendſhip; which, as might naturally be ſuppoſed, uſually follows their intereſt, wherever it leads. This important fortreſs is now in our hands; the very conſiderable army that had been deſtin'd to its relief, and to raiſe the ſiege, being repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the garriſon made priſoners of war. By which acquiſition, the wavering nations of the Mohawks, as they are commonly called, are ſecured in their fidelity and friendſhip; many other tribes of the ſavages have become our uſeful allies, inſtead of perfidious enemies; the French forts and ſettlements at Preſque Iſle and Venango are abandoned; and, in ſhort, the whole extent of country between Lake Ontario and Pittſburgh, is left without a perſon who dares to own himſelf our enemy, unleſs we look far to the weſtward. It may be added, that by this acquiſition, if maintained, even tho' Canada had remained intire in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, would have been effectually cut off, all intercourſe of any conſequence between Canada, Detroit, and all the French forts and ſettlements to the ſouthward of Lake Erie. So that the enemy on that ſide, could have maintained their ground only on the Miſſiſipi, and ſome of its remote branches; where, by reaſon of the diſtance from us, and the difficulty of the navigation, they could neither give us much diſturbance, nor gain much advantage to themſelves. And this acquiſition, ſo important in its nature, it is to be remembered, was made with the loſs of a very ſmall number of our troops; tho' not without the loſs of a brave and excellent general; * not indeed, killed by the enemy; but in vulgar phraſe, by an accident; yet ſuch an accident as is directed by the providence of God. For if a ſparrow does not fall to

* Brigadier-General Prideaux.

the ground without our Father, much leſs ſuch a worthy commander; of more value, not only than many ſparrows, but than many general officers of an higher rank.

From the laſt mentioned fortreſs to the capital whither we are bound, the neareſt and directeſt courſe is acroſs Ontario to Frontinac, and ſo down the river Cataraqui to La Galette, &c. However, as we have not heard of any thing lately done there, to invite us that way, we will take another route; which tho' longer, will be much more agreeable to us.

Let us therefore proceed from Niagara to Lake George; a conſiderable diſtance, and moſtly through a wilderneſs; but where we may now travel with ſafety, tho' unarmed; there being no enemy here to do us any harm. We ſee the country all our own, to the latter of theſe lakes: At the ſouthern part of which, a year or two ſince, the enemy under general Montcalm, made themſelves maſters of one of our forts; and, after the capitulation, and ſurrender thereof, inhumanly ſtripped, butchered and ſcalped the troops, to whom they had ſolemnly plighted their faith. At which time the city of Albany itſelf trembled for fear; and ſome there were, who hardly thought themſelves ſecure, even in this metropolis. How different, how much more pleaſing a ſcene, is now preſented to our view, if we caſt our eyes on that quarter? eſpecially if we extend our view to the northern part of the laſt mentioned lake?

We there ſee the main body of the enemy who, it ſeems, the laſt year were ſo powerful at Ticonderoga, as to repulſe and rout a large army of 15 or 16,000 men, not without conſiderable ſlaughter,

ter ; I ſay we there ſee the main body of the enemy, now retiring precipitately before the conqueror of Louiſbourg ; even without daring to wait the near approach of his army. Doubtleſs the name of Amherſt, tho' with a leſs numerous army than that which the enemy had ſo lately defeated at the ſame place, taught them a ſudden fear, and ſeaſonably ſuggeſted to them, that their only ſafety was in flight. This almoſt impregnable fortreſs is now in our hands, and all the country round Lake George ; ſo that between that and us, no enemy preſumes to ſet his foot. The value of this acquiſition, ſo important in itſelf, is in ſome meaſure inhanced by reflecting on the expenſive, tho' fruitleſs attempts, heretofore made to obtain it ; by reflecting on the loſs of ſo many brave men at that place ; and above all, by reflecting on the untimely fall of one of our general officers there, the laſt year. The memory of Lord Howe will long be reſpected and honoured by every Britiſh ſubject, who has any eſteem for valor, military ſkill, publick ſpirit, activity, and unwearied application. His untimely fall, as it were in the firſt bloom of manly age, would even now demand a tear, were not this a day of rejoicing.

But let us follow our wiſe and excellent general at the weſtward, from Lake George to Lake Champlain. We there alſo ſee the enemy flying before him ; and leaving him to take a quiet, and uninterrupted poſſeſſion of fort Frederic, uſually called Crown Point. A fortreſs which, tho' not very ſtrong in itſelf, has long been a grievous eye-ſore to theſe northern Britiſh colonies, and to our allies of the ſix nations, and that very juſtly ; ſince, by its ſituation, it enabled the enemy at any time ſuddenly to annoy our frontier ſettlements, and afforded them a place of

quick and safe retreat; and where they could always supply their good brethren, our savage enemies, with provisions, cloathing, and warlike stores. This fortress we now see in our hands; or rather, a far better and stronger one, lately built there under the direction of general Amherst. In short, we see the whole country thereabouts in our possession, and secured to us; a communication opened between this lake and our western frontiers; and settlers invited to come, and take up their habitation where, till very lately, it was not safe for us to set our feet. This we owe to general Amherst, under providence: Who, according to our latest advices, was proceeded still farther northward; where we cannot at present follow him; but may safely rely on his prudence and magnanimity, under that divine direction which has thus far attended him; and humbly hope, he will take no step but what wisdom shall dictate, and providence succeed.

Some may possibly think it strange, that the last mentioned general has made no quicker advances after a flying enemy; but given them time to fortify themselves towards the northern end of the lake. But it may be taken for granted, that he is a thorough master of his profession; that he wants not zeal in his Majesty's service; and that he has sufficient reasons for this part of his conduct. Can any of us presume to say, it was even practicable for him to make more haste, without being in hazard of making the worse speed? Or do we know that this delay was not chosen and preferred, upon the soundest maxims of wisdom and good policy? I am very far from presuming to be a judge of these matters; and much farther from pretending to penetrate the particular views and designs of so secret and consummate a commander. But might not this delay, supposing

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it not unavoidable, poſſibly have been choſen on the following account,— That had the general preſſed the enemy in their retreat before him, he would, in a ſort, have compelled them to go to the capital city, to add great numbers and ſtrength to the great army already there; and hereby, perhaps, have given an opportunity, and enabled them, to defeat and overthrow the little Britiſh army beſieging it; before it would have been poſſible for him to join it, which would have fruſtrated the grand deſign. For it would, on account of the narrows, or land-carriage in the way, have been ſeemingly impoſſible for this weſtern army to get to the capital, till ſome weeks after the flying enemy. But all this is only conjecture.

And I am now, almoſt before I was aware of it, tho' perhaps after too long a delay, got to the chief ſcene of action; where our moſt ſignal ſucceſs has been; and where you will allow me to tarry a little longer than at either of the former places. I am even ſtill almoſt "as one that dreameth," when I think of the ſurrender of the capital of Canada, which is in effect the reduction of the whole country. For it is morally, if not naturally impoſſible, that the enemy, having loſt this city, which is now in our poſſeſſion, ſhould hold out half another campaign, againſt a force much inferior to that, which his Majeſty has already in North-America. Yea, it is almoſt certain, that after taking the capital, laying waſte the country, burning ſo many of the houſes, taking or deſtroying ſo great a part of the ſtock, ſtores and magazines; it is almoſt certain, I ſay, after this, that a great part of the enemy, who pretend ſtill to ſtand out, muſt either come in, and ſubmit to the generous terms offered them, or elſe, before another ſpring, periſh by hunger and cold, with their unhappy wives and

children ; which God forbid ! But not to anticipate thoſe obſervations and reflections, for which we ſhall find a fitter place hereafter ; let us now take a nearer, and more attentive view of this truly great and memorable thing, which God has ſo lately done for us, in delivering the capital city of Canada into our hands ; with ſome of the moſt material circumſtances relative thereto.

God has remarkably ſmil'd upon this great enterprize from the very firſt, till we ſee it brought to this happy concluſion : From the very firſt, I ſay ; unleſs we ſhould make an exception as to the enemy's getting up the river with a conſiderable fleet of proviſion and ſtore ſhips, under convoy, while a ſquadron of Britiſh men of war, deſtin'd to prevent any ſuch relief and ſuccours getting in, lay in port ; ſome ſay, from neceſſity. But however that might be, it is not improbable, that if this fleet had actually been intercepted, the reduction of Quebec might have been effected much eaſier and ſooner than it was ; and the whole country, before this time, brought to a ſubmiſſion. But not to dwell upon any circumſtance which was leſs in our favour than we could have wiſhed ; let us proceed to ſome others, which were more ſo than we could have reaſonably expected.

The navigation of St. Lawrence's river has always, ever ſince Sir Hovenden Walker's fruitleſs attempt, wherein ſeveral ſhips were loſt, been repreſented to us by friends and enemies, as being extreamly difficult and hazardous. However, thro' the favour of Him, whom winds and ſeas obey, our very great fleet of men of war, of proviſion, tranſport and ſtore-ſhips, arrived ſafe at Orleans, a little below Quebec, meeting with little or no diſaſter in the whole voyage. This

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is very remarkable ; a thing almoſt unexampled in ſo long a voyage, and with ſo large a fleet, even where the navigation is, on all hands, allowed to be far leſs difficult and dangerous, than that of this river.

It was another favourable circumſtance, that in the very heart of the enemy's country, our little army ſhould land, with all their proviſions, artillery and ſtores, and take poſſeſſion of the ground, almoſt without the loſs of a man ; eſpecially conſidering the lurking, inſidious and guileful genius of the enemies they had to deal with,and who were perfectly acquainted with all the country, ſo that it might have been expected they would have made ſome conſiderable advantages hereof.

A THIRD circumſtance not unworthy of notice here, is, that after our fleet then at anchor, had been put into ſome diſorder by a ſtorm, and, if my memory does not fail me, before the ſtorm was quite over, the enemy attentive to every incident in their favour, choſe this opportunity to ſend down with a rapid tide, and full gale, a number of large fireſhips, and rafts on fire ; hoping, not without ſome probability, by this means to deſtroy a conſiderable part of the Britiſh fleet. But under the favour of providence, by the wiſe precaution of the Britiſh admiral, and the addreſs, the ſingular alertneſs and dexterity of the Britiſh ſeamen, this threatning miſchief was intirely warded off ; and ſoon became only the ſubject of their merriment.

It is further to be thankfully acknowledged, that our great fleet, and little army, have all along been favour'd with remarkable health ; but a very ſmall proportion of them having died by ſickneſs, or even been ſick at all. Whereas had ſickneſs prevailed among our troops, even in a degree not uncommon in camps,

camps, it would have reduced that ſmall army to ſuch an handful of men, as muſt in all probability have occaſioned the breaking up of the ſiege.

And here I cannot but mention another thing, which, tho' it may ſeem at firſt view quite remote from the point in hand, has yet a cloſe connection with it. There was probably never known among us ſo fruitful a ſeaſon as that laſt paſt. God has cauſed the earth to yield her increaſe in very great abundance; whereby our fleet and army have had a conſtant ſupply of freſh proviſions, vegetables, &c. To which it is in part doubtleſs owing, thro' the bleſſing of God, that our fleet and army have enjoyed ſo much health.

But to proceed to ſome other things. Our parties that were ſent out from time to time to harraſs the enemy, and lay waſte the country, after the terms offered by the general were rejected, had ſo much ſucceſs therein; and the city itſelf had been ſo far ruined by a long, conſtant and ſevere bombardment, that neither of them could, in many years, have retrieved theſe damages and loſſes, even tho' the ſiege had been raiſed before the actual reduction of the city.

I have more than once called this a ſiege; tho' by the way, what was done hardly amounted to ſo much as is uſually underſtood by a blockade. But call it what you pleaſe, it is a wonder that it was not broken up, without effecting the main point: The enemy having encamped, and ſtrongly entrenched themſelves, in thrice the number of our ſmall army; and in ſo advantageous a place, that it would probably have required even thrice their own great numbers to force their lines. And after one unſucceſsful attempt

attempt to this end; when so much of the season was gone; the seeming impracticability of approaching the enemy where they were, and the improbability that they would ever give up this advantage, or be brought to hazard a general battle on equal ground, notwithstanding their superior numbers; after all this, I say, 'tis probable there are but few generals, who would not have utterly despair'd of succeeding, given up the point, and left the enemy to retrieve, as well as they could, the great damages they had already sustained.

But it seems the British general was one of those rare military geniuses, which, like the Phœnix, appear but once an age, except perhaps in Great-Britain. He was one of those, whose courage nothing could abate; whose ardor, regulated by prudence, nothing could damp; whose resolution no difficulties, however great, could shake or alter, so long as a possibility remained of carrying his design into execution; and in fine, one of those, whose wisdom and address at a critical juncture, were not inferior to his other great military accomplishments. These great qualities, with which heaven had endow'd him, and to which heaven seldom fails of giving success, were now all called forth, and displayed at once, in drawing the numerous enemy from their inaccessible entrenchments, to a general battle, which he had long desired.

Behold him there, with his little body of British troops, himself the head to direct, and the soul to animate the whole, if such troops needed animation; the force of Canada moving towards him with slow and solemn steps, under a try'd, experienced and approv'd commander!—Unhappy *Montcalm!* courageous at least, if not prudent at this time! What is it

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that, in an unpropitious hour, tempts thee thus to forego thoſe advantages, which could not, perhaps, have been forced from thee? What is it that induces thee to put the capital of Canada, and, with it, the whole country, upon ſo deſperate a riſque as the event of the enſuing battle? Perhaps thou relieſt on thy ſuperior numbers. But doſt thou not know both Britiſh troops and French ones better, than to think the latter can ſtand before the former on even ground, tho' the diſproportion of numbers be ſo great? Is there not ſomething elſe of more conſequence than numbers, when things are brought to ſuch a criſis as the preſent? Doſt thou not know, that God has given men different nerves, ſinews, arms and hearts? Doſt thou not know, that thoſe who fight for a Tyrant, will not fight like free-born Britons? Perhaps thou thinketh thyſelf again at Ticonderoga—But doſt thou not ſee, who it is at the head of that little veteran army, by his preſence infuſing courage enough into each breaſt, to make every man a hero? Or, perhaps, thou thinkeſt thy relicks, thy croſſes, and thy ſaints, either St. Peter, or thy great *Lady*, whom thou profanely ſtileſt "The mother God," will now befriend, and make thee victorious. But remember, *that* little hoſt now in array againſt thee, worſhip the God that made the heavens, earth, and ſeas, with all that they contain; the Lord of hoſts is his name! His is the glory and the victory; and know, that the event of this battle ſhall be accordingly! Croſs thyſelf ſpeedily, if thou thinkeſt it will be of any advantage to thee! Mercy to thy ſoul, notwithſtanding *violated faith* at Lake George, once *St. Sacrament!* But alas! be aſſured, that yonder gloomy wood on thy right, affords not laurels, but cypreſs for thy brows!

But remonſtrances prevail nothing. Behold! now the charge begins! Behold, now the enemy fall, they fly! Behold the horrid rout, the purſuit, the field covered with the ſlain! Behold, now the enemy regain their untimely-forſaken trenches! See, now they are ſtormed, and turned into canals running with a purple tide, till choaked with the dead and dying, fallen promiſcuouſly on one another! Behold, there falls their valiant *Leader*! Behold now, the gates or ports of the capital open to receive the vanquiſhed and flying; but haſtily ſhut again, leſt the victorious ſhould enter with them, or before them!—In fine! behold this place, renowned for its ſtrength, the power and pride of the enemy, againſt which ſo many fruitleſs attempts had been made, now ſurrender'd to his Britannic Majeſty, whoſe colours, yonder, wave over the devoted city!

This, my brethren, is the Lord's doing; a great thing which he has performed for us, for our country and nation, whereof we are glad; and it may juſtly be wonderful in our eyes! That ſo ſmall a force ſhould obtain ſo great, compleat, and important a conqueſt, as it were in a moment, with ſo little loſs of numbers on its own ſide, and ſo great a one on that of the enemy! Since the ſurrender of Quebec, we may, without much preſumption, look on Canada as a conquered country. For, as was obſerved above, according to the ordinary courſe of things, if we keep poſſeſſion of this capital, to prevent which we know of nothing at preſent, the inhabitants muſt ſoon be obliged to ſubmit to terms, or elſe do what will be far worſe for themſelves, tho' not for us perhaps, the matter being conſidered only in a political light. Scarce any thing ſhort of a miracle, can prevent the alternative from taking place. But we ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething

thing more particularly upon this point in the afternoon, when we come to conſider the importance of this acquiſition; and how much reaſon we have to be glad and rejoice, on account of the great things which God has done for us, eſpecially in the ſignal victory we have been ſpeaking of, and the ſurrender of Quebec in conſequence of it.

It may be added here, that as things have turned out, through the good providence of God, almoſt the only unfavourable circumſtance, worthy of a particular mention here, relative to this great and proſperous enterprize, and which was taken notice of above, is productive of another, different one, which in a great meaſure, if not entirely, counterbalances it. For that fleet, with her convoy, which arrived at Quebec ſo opportunely for the enemy, is indiſputably and wholly loſt to France; and, not improbably, before this time in our own poſſeſſion. Which is a thing of no trivial conſideration in itſelf, tho' it may ſeem ſuch in compariſon of the reduction of this capital.

And thus I have, as fully and particularly as was convenient, or at leaſt, as the time would allow, reminded you of the great things, which the Lord hath lately done for us. The other parts of my deſign, as expreſſed in the beginning of this diſcourſe, will, by divine permiſſion and aſſiſtance, be proſecuted in the afternoon.

In the mean time, let us be glad in the Lord, and rejoice greatly in the God of our ſalvation. Tho' he ſeemed, more than once, to have "caſt us off, and did not go out with our armies," when the reduction of this ſame capital and country was meditated and attempted; he

he has now returned to us in mercy. He has at length led us succesfully into this American *Edom*, and "brought us into the strong city." He has at length, in a great measure, "given us help from trouble, "when the help of man was vain: Thro' him we "have now done valiantly; for he it is that hath "tread down our enemies." † Some of you may possibly remember, it was on this passage of scripture that I discoursed the last day of general prayer and fasting amongst us, ‖ which was to implore the guidance of heaven in, and a blessing upon, our military designs and undertakings this present year, particularly against our Canadian enemies. And I now most heartily congratulate you, my brethren, and bless the great, the everlasting God, who "doeth his will in the armies of heaven, and amongst the inhabitants of the earth," before whom "all nations are as the small dust of the ballance," that he has not rejected the common, united prayer of his people, nor frustrated the strong hopes which were expressed at that time, that we should "see our desire on our enemies;" on these our ancient, cruel and perfidious enemies, who have so long dealt most treacherously and unrighteously with us, and who meditated still greater mischief against us; even our utter extirpation and ruin! By which conduct in times past, they must doubtless have highly provoked righteous heaven against them. "Many a time "have they afflicted us from our youth: Many a "time have they afflicted us from our youth; yet "they have not prevailed against us. For the Lord "is righteous."—"The Lord is in his holy temple; "the Lord's throne is in heaven: his eyes behold, "his eyelids try the children of men." He who, from heaven his dwelling place has seen our afflictions, and many sufferings, has from thence also heard our prayers,

† Psalm LX. 9, — 12. ‖ June 1759.

prayers, and ſent deliverance to his ſervants that hoped in his mercy. Our cries, and the cry of ſo much blood, unrighteouſly and inhumanly ſhed ; the blood of helpleſs women, tender children, and infants at the breaſt ;—theſe cries have doubtleſs been loud enough to be heard from the depths of earth to the higheſt heaven, where they have entred into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth ; and have, through " the blood of the covenant, " had their effect : For " the Lord trieth the righteous : BUT THE WICKED, AND HIM THAT LOVETH VIOLENCE HIS SOUL HATETH ! "

The End of the firſt Diſcourſe.

☞ THE apoſtrophe beginning page 27, where Gen. *Montcalm* is brought upon the ſtage, was form'd upon the conception which the author then had, of the ſituation of the two armies, and what happen'd on that memorable day : But whether that conception were ſtrictly juſt or not, he cannot ſay, reports having been ſo various. If any apology is needed on account of what relates to General *Montcalm* at the cloſe of this apoſtrophe, he obſerves, That tho' the dead are not to be inhumanly inſulted ; yet as it is hardly ſuppoſeable that the perfidious and horrid maſſacre of our troops at Fort William Henry, could have happened without the connivance of the French General, or that he could not have prevented it, (which is not the firſt inſtance of their cruel perfidy) it was thought ſuch an hint at that tragical affair, was no ways improper : At leaſt, that it could not be juſtly looked upon as proceeding from inhumanity, as it is guarded ; eſpecially ſince that unhappy General is there conſidered, not as being dead, but ſtill living, and on the point of joining battle with the Britiſh troops.

DISCOURSE

Diſcourſe II.

What great Cauſe we have for Gladneſs and Rejoicing.

PSALM CXXVI. Verſe 3d.

THE LORD hath done great Things for us, whereof we are glad.

IN the morning you were reminded of the great things which God hath lately done for us, for our land and nation; particularly in the reduction, or ſurrender, of the Capital of Canada; which is the principal occaſion of this day's ſolemnity. However, it was thought not improper to come to a conſideration of this, by an induction of ſome other of our late military ſucceſſes which preceeded it. Accordingly we extended our views, on this great and joyful occaſion, to the principal ſucceſſes with which God has favoured us on this continent, ſince the time of our laſt public and general thankſgiving; to thoſe at the lakes George and Champlain; at Niagara and Du Queſne, now Pittsburgh. We alſo caſt an eye toward: the Weſt-India iſlands; the coaſts of Portugal and France; towards Hanover and the Pruſſian dominions; nor did even theEaſt Indies altogether eſcape our notice. In all theſe parts, it has pleaſed God to give ſome

ſucceſs to the arms of our King, or thoſe of his allies; and in ſeveral of them, very great and remarkable ſucceſs. But that, in the reduction of Quebec, conſidered in itſelf, in its probable conſequences, and its vaſt importance to ourſelves, is ſo great that it may, with reſpect to us, naturally be ſuppoſed to diminiſh from the greatneſs, and eclipſe the luſtre of the reſt. And beſides, as this was the chief and more particular occaſion of our aſſembling together this day in the houſe of praiſe, it was, on that account, proper to dwell longer upon it, than upon any of the others.

Some remarks were of courſe dropped in the preceeding diſcourſe, on the importance of theſe ſeveral ſucceſſes, and the grounds we have for gladneſs and rejoicing on account of them. But theſe were only tranſient hints; and as a fuller repreſentation of the importance of theſe ſucceſſes may be uſeful to us, and a means of increaſing our gratitude to almighty God, who has done ſuch great things for us; I now proceed, as was propoſed,

II. More particularly to ſhow the propriety of our being glad and rejoicing at this time, and what great reaſon we have for it; particularly in reſpect of that important event, which is the more immediate occaſion of this ſolemnity. And indeed my diſcourſe this afternoon, will be in a manner confined hereto, and to ſuch reflections as naturally ariſe from it; for I ſhall hardly, if at all, mention any of our other late military ſucceſſes, however conſiderable in themſelves. This, it is conceived, is an event, not only great in itſelf, but big with many happy conſequences; in ſhort, an event of the moſt intereſting nature to us, to Great Britain, and all her dependencies; as will preſently be attempted to be ſhown.

The

THE reasonableness and propriety in general, of rejoicing on such-like occasions as the present; for victories over, or success against our enemies, when God is pleased to grant it, are so obvious in themselves, so plainly supposed in the holy scriptures, and, it may be added, this is so frequently enjoined therein as a duty; yea, this is what we are so naturally disposed to do, that there will not be the least need of labouring this point. However, it may just be observed here, that it was on occasion of the Israelites being delivered out of the Hands of their oppressors and enemies, that the Psalm of which the text is a part, was composed. For it begins thus: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dreamed: *then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing.*" This, and some of the happy circumstances attending, or happy consequences flowing from it, were plainly the "great things" to which the text refers; and on account of which, the church of God that was of old is introduced, expressing her gratitude and joy, saying, "The Lord hath done great things for us, *whereof we are glad.*" Nor, indeed, can we ever have any cause for gratitude, on these, or other occasions, any further than we have cause for joy and gladness. For gratitude or thanksgiving is due to almighty God, only for the favours and mercies which he vouchsafes to bestow upon us; all which are, in their own nature, a proper Ground of gladness and rejoicing to us. And our gratitude ought always to arise in proportion to the greatness of these mercies and favours; or to the real occasion which we have to rejoice and be glad.

To represent to you, what great cause we have to rejoice on the present occasion, is therefore in other words, or in effect, only to represent to you what great

reaſon we have to be thankful to almighty God, which is what I have in view. It is further to be obſerved here, that as the favours we are conſidering, are primarily and chiefly of a national, ſecular and political nature, relating more immediately to our common temporal proſperity, tho' remotely to our religious liberties, and ſpiritual good; ſo it will be proper, and even neceſſary, if I ſpeak particularly of them at all, to conſider them, at leaſt primarily, in a national, ſecular and political light: For, how things of this nature can poſſibly be conſidered with propriety in any other, I muſt confeſs myſelf not able to ſee. And this muſt be my apology, it is hoped a ſufficient one, if on the preſent occaſion I ſhould verge a little nearer to what is commonly called politics, than is ordinarily convenient or ſuitable for the pulpit. Tho' in reality, I ſhall not diſcourſe on politics, unleſs all kind of diſcourſe relating to ſecular affairs, and the temporal proſperity of nations, may properly be called politics alſo. And altho' I do not think it my province, were I capable of it, to enter deep into matters of this nature, which is far from my deſign; yet it is humbly conceived, I ſhall not tranſgreſs by offering ſome conſiderations in order to ſhow, what great reaſon we have for rejoicing at this time; eſpecially on account of that acquiſition, which is the principal occaſion of our rejoicing. In order whereto, it will be neceſſary to illuſtrate the importance of that acquiſition itſelf, to us, to theſe Britiſh colonies and provinces in general, and to Great Britain. This is therefore what will now be attempted, without any further apology.

And to this end, the following things may be obſerved; *viz.*

That

THAT the enemy, having loſt the capital of Canada, have it not in their power to recover the poſſeſſion of it:

THAT if it remains in our poſſeſſion, all Canada muſt of courſe be ſubjected in time, even tho' we ſhould act only upon the defenſive:

THAT as things are now circumſtanced, we have it in our power to act offenſively in ſuch a manner, that the whole country may and muſt, be reduced in a very little while:

THAT the Reduction of this country, will be the bringing all our ſavage enemies into a friendly alliance with us:

AND then, ſince it may poſſibly be demanded by ſome, What benefits will from hence reſult to us, taking theſe things for granted, this demand will be anſwered by a particular, tho' brief induction of ſome great advantages accruing from hence, both to Great Britain and her American colonies, whoſe intereſts are indeed inſeparably connected, as both ſhe and they are, of late, more than ever convinced.

THESE are the things which are propoſed under this head. Only it is here premiſed once for all, to prevent frequent and needleſs repetitions, that when it is ſaid, ſuch or ſuch a thing may, will or muſt be done, or come to paſs; and that another will not, or cannot, both muſt be underſtood, as they are intended, with all due ſubmiſſion to the over-ruling providence of God, and with proper allowances for extraordinary occurrents. There is doubtleſs a certain eſtabliſhed order of things, or ſucceſſion of events, which tho' it may be, and ſometimes is, broken in upon, is yet a good foundation for

us to proceed upon in our reaſoning as to things of this nature. And otherwiſe, indeed, all reaſoning about them would be mere childiſh impertinence. But ſtill there is no abſolute certainty in any of our concluſions reſpecting them, ſince they have ſome contingencies for their baſes; contingencies with reſpect to us, but which are yet both foreknown and ordered by the ſupreme Governor of the univerſe, to whom therefore we ſhould always look, in an humble ſenſe of both their, and our, abſolute dependence upon him. Having premiſed theſe things once for all, and ſtill keeping them in mind; I now return to the firſt of the propoſitions laid down above; *viz.*

That having loſt the capital of Canada, the enemy have it not in their power to regain the poſſeſſion of it. To be ſure, they have no Force now in America capable of doing this. Their principal and grand army has been beaten, routed, and cut to pieces: their chief military officers killed and made priſoners; and the poor remains of their regular troops, which were in that memorable battle, ſent to Great Britain. If their principal force united under ſo experienced and capable a commander, with other good officers, was not able to defend their capital, what can be expected, or what need be apprehended from them now, broken and diſconcerted, without a ſufficient number of good officers, without ſpirit, and perhaps without a ſufficiency of proviſions and military ſtores?

If this capital is regained, it muſt therefore be by means of large ſuccours from old France; or rather by an army well ſupplied and appointed, ſent from thence into Canada, to join the forces already there. But this is, humanly ſpeaking, impoſſible. The miſſiſipi is at too great a diſtance, and the navigation of it

ſuch,

ſuch, that no conſiderable ſuccours can come that way. Beſides, we are in poſſeſſion of Niagara, the only way of communication; which fortreſs might, were there occaſion, be reinforced almoſt with what numbers we pleaſe. Neither is it to be ſuppoſed that an army, or any conſiderable ſuccours, can come to Canada by the river St. Lawrence, of which we have now the command. The Britiſh navy is ſo ſuperior that the ports of France, where any preparations ſhould be made for this purpoſe, might be blocked up. Or if a fleet ſhould happen to ſteal out in the ſpring, a ſuperior one might be immediately diſpatched after it, ſo as to prevent its effecting any thing; and probably take or deſtroy it. Or a ſtrong Britiſh ſquadron, were that judged needful, or adviſeable, might be kept conſtantly in the river, during the ſeaſon for navigating it. All which things being conſidered, we need be under no apprehenſions, but that we ſhall be able to maintain that acquiſition, which has been lately made with ſo much honor to the Britiſh arms. And we will now venture to advance one ſtep farther. For, as was obſerved above,

If this Capital remains in our poſſeſſion, all Canada muſt of courſe be ſubjected in time, even tho' we ſhould here act only a defenſive part. Some may, perhaps, think this a pretty extraordinary and ſanguine poſition. It admits, however, of a very ſhort and eaſy proof. For many European commodities are, from uſe and habit, become neceſſary to the Canadians; ſo that they neither will, nor can, live long without them. With theſe they cannot be ſuppl ed from old France, as affairs are now circumſtanced, either by the Miſſiſipi, or St. Lawrence, or any other way. Their communication with France is now effectually cut off, unleſs perhaps it be for *letters of condoleance*, which can neither

ther do us any harm, nor themſelves much good. So that if the war ſhould continue, they will be obliged to come to us for theſe neceſſaries; and to take them of us, if at all, on our own terms: Which would, in effect, be ſubjecting themſelves and their country to the Britiſh government. At leaſt, this is what they might be compelled to do, ſhould thoſe above us think it proper. And theſe remarks, tho' made with particular reference to the Canadians properly ſo called, are equally applicable to all the French inhabitants on this continent about the lakes, and to the ſouthward of them, till you come near the Miſſiſipi, or ſome of its branches that are very remote from us; Quebec, and the river St. Lawrence, now in our poſſeſſion, being the way in which they uſe, chiefly at leaſt, to be ſupplied with thoſe neceſſaries; for which, if they continue in the country, they will be forced in time to come to us; even tho' we ſhould act only on the defenſive with reſpect to them. However, there is no need of going on this latter ſuppoſition: For, in the next place, as was obſerved above,

As things are now circumſtanced, we have it in our power to act offenſively againſt them in ſuch a manner, that the whole country may, and muſt be reduced in a very little time. They can receive no conſiderable ſuccours or ſupplies from Old France, for the reaſons mentioned above. They have no cities, forts or places of defence, capable of making reſiſtance, or holding out a ſiege, even a ſhort one. The country lies open to us; or rather, we have one army at leaſt already in the heart of it. His Majeſty has a large number of brave and try'd troops now in America; ſo many, that all the forces the enemy can collect, probably would not dare to meet one half of them in the field: That method they have already try'd to their coſt! And tho' the country ſhould not ſubmit, or be intirely ſubjected

this

this fall, which is not indeed to be expected, conſidering how far the ſeaſon is already elapſed; yet what ſhould prevent a total conqueſt, even very early another ſeaſon; when the enemy muſt be ſtill in all probability, more weakened, diſtreſſed and diſpirited, than they are at preſent? Excepting ſuch things as are quite out of the ordinary courſe, nothing can prevent this. Which being conſidered, the reduction of Quebec is, in effect, the reduction of all Canada, from Hudſon's Bay ſouthward and weſtward to the great lakes: and not only ſo, but of all the territory which the French poſſeſs to the ſouthward ſtill of thoſe lakes till, as was ſaid before, you come near the Miſſiſipi, or ſome of thoſe branches of it, which are at a very great diſtance from us.

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Our next poſition was, that the reduction of this country, will be the bringing all our Indian enemies into a friendly alliance with us. For Quebec & Canada being in our poſſeſſion, they cannot be ſupplied from thence as heretofore, with arms, ammunition and other things, which long uſe has been made neceſſary to them. They muſt therefore come to us for them; and be obliged to court our friendſhip. And this reaſoning will hold good with reſpect to all the numerous ſavage nations, quite from the territories of Hudſons Bay, where the Indians have long been our friends, down to the great lakes, and to the ſouthward of them, as far as Georgia; and Weſtward, till we approach near the Miſſiſipi. Whereever they can be ſupplied eaſieſt, and upon the beſt terms, eſpecially if it be by thoſe who are the moſt powerful on the continent, and can give them the greateſt protection & aſſiſtance in caſe of need; there they will, ſooner or later, come to be ſupplied. And this, probably, in a ſhort time, provided thoſe prudent meaſures continue to be proſecuted with reference

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to them, which have lately been uſed. For we ſee them now daily forſaking the French intereſt, coming over to us, and ſeeking an alliance with us. So that this reaſoning is not grounded merely on hypotheſis, but partly on certain fact. And it may be added here, that on the foregoing principles, the friendſhip of all theſe ſavages may be relied on as hearty & ſincere, having not only convenience, but even neceſſity for its baſis. For they cannot live, but by being and keeping on good terms with us. And ſo, in ſhort, they will be a barrier, if one is needed, between our ſouthern colonies and the French on the Miſſiſipi; or, perhaps, with a little of our aſſiſtance, ſhould the war continue, make them glad to confine themſelves wholly to the weſtward of that river.

SAVING the right of the natives, all the territory about Hudſon's bay, northward, weſtward and ſouthward as far as the bounds of Canada, already belongs to Great-Britain, where we have long had ſeveral forts and ſettlements, of which we are ſtill in poſſeſſion. And upon the foregoing principles, Great-Britain muſt of courſe, in a little time, be poſſeſſed of a territory here in North-America, extending and continued from that Bay, and indeed from ſome way to the Northward of it, as far as Florida to the ſouthward, about two thouſand miles; and extending as far back to the weſtward, almoſt, as we ſhould deſire; reſerving always, as was intimated above, to the ſavage nations, their juſt claims, or proper rights. This is what we may, without much preſumption, promiſe ourſelves, making proper allowance for contingencies, or things out of the ordinary courſe; on which, being unknown, we can ground none of our reaſonings in this, or any other caſe. But, to ſay the leaſt, this may probably be the conſequence of reducing Quebec:

Quebec: For all that has been ſaid above, has a cloſe and manifeſt connection with that important event.

But allowing the above concluſions to be juſtly drawn; yet ſome may perhaps demand ſtill, "Cui bono?" Tho' things ſhould turn out thus; yet what real and conſiderable benefit would from hence reſult to Great-Britain and her colonies? (For we have all learnt, at length, to conſider their intereſts, not as being ſeparate, but cloſely united.) This is the demand, to which ſome anſwer was promiſed above; tho' it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, indeed, that ſuch a queſtion could be ſeriouſly aſked by any intelligent perſon, the advantages accruing from hence, being ſo many, great and manifeſt. To hint at ſome of the principal, and moſt obvious of them then:

In the firſt place, one great advantage we ſhould gain hereby is this, that all the Britiſh colonies and provinces would henceforward enjoy peace on their extenſive frontiers, or inland borders. We ſhall be delivered from the ravages and barbarities of faithleſs ſavages, and more faithleſs Frenchmen; of all which ravages and barbarities, the French being in poſſeſſion of Quebec and St. Lawrence river, has, from firſt to laſt, been the principal cauſe. For the Indians would all have long ſince been our friends, had it not been for them in our neighbourhood, to ſet them upon us both in war and peace. How much blood has been heretofore ſhed on the frontiers of the Britiſh colonies? What a vaſt treaſure has been annually expended in defending ourſelves, tho' very ineffectually, from our American enemies, different in complexion, yet much the ſame in heart†? How have our infant ſet-

tlements

† Even Monſ. Vaudreuil, the Governor General of Canada, and himſelf a Canadian by birth, it is confidently and credibly

tlements, otherwiſe very flouriſhing, been diſtreſſed, kept back, and, many of them quite broken up, by the enemy? Whereas we may now rationally expect to have peace in all our borders; and that there will be no more breaking in, or carrying out to a wretched captivity. The public expences, and conſequently the public taxes, will be vaſtly leſſened; and become very ſmall in comparriſon of what they have hitherto been in time of war. And we ſhall ſave, not only much money, but, what is far more precious in the ſight of God and wiſe men, much blood. Our colonies will of courſe increaſe and people faſt; and, under the common bleſſing of providence, flouriſh more than ever, quickly filling up, and extending themſelves far back into the country. Of which, the mother-country will reap the benefit in common with us. Theſe are ſuch great and obvious advantages, that all muſt needs ſee them.

In the next place, an extenſive trade will of courſe be opened with all the ſavage nations back of us; particularly the fur trade, of late years almoſt engroſſed by the French, who have had thoſe ſavages in their intereſt. They muſt now hunt for us in our turn, in order to pay us for the neceſſaries which they muſt come to us for. Which is alſo in ſome meaſure applicable to the Canadians themſelves, that country being reduced, if any of them ſhall remain therein. They muſt all be ſupplied by us, and pay us for it ſome way or other. So that in ſhort, all the commerce of this part of the world, from the northward of Hudſon's Bay to Florida,

affirmed, had the inhumanity, or may I not rather ſay? the brutality, to ornament a room with Engliſh ſcalps hung round it; which he uſed to ſhow to his unhappy priſoners; to inſult them; pointing out to them, which were the ſcalps of their near relations friends and neighbours!

da, and back to the Miſſiſipi, or near it, will of courſe be in the hands of Britiſh ſubjects: A commerce, which will greatly increaſe the demand for Britiſh manufactures, and both well employ and maintain many thouſand more people in Great-Britain, than do or can get a livelihood there at preſent in any honeſt way. It will alſo much increaſe her navigation, and that of her colonies.

MOREOVER: The reduction of Quebec, and ſuppoſed reduction of Canada in conſequence thereof, will be a benefit to us, as it will be, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, a cramping of the French ſugar-iſlands, which have of late much more than rivalled our own. The French Weſt India iſlands, if I am not miſinformed, have heretofore had great dependence upon Canada for bread-corn, and other proviſions, for ſome kinds of naval ſtores, and divers other articles, both neceſſary for them, and which they cannot, elſewhere, be ſo commodiouſly ſupplied with. The depriving them of which, eſpecially if an effectual ſtop ſhould be put to the illicit trade carried on thither from ſome Britiſh parts of the continent, muſt greatly diſtreſs and reduce them, and be a proprotionable advantage to ours; leſſen their commerce and navigation, and increaſe our own.

Again: One would think that France would now, almoſt of courſe, be wholly cut out of the American cod-fiſhery, of which ſhe has heretofore made ſuch vaſt advantages. Her Louisbourg fiſhery was gone before. That up the gulph and river St. Lawrence is now gone. All treaties, by virtue of which ſhe claimed a right to make fiſh on the coaſt of Newfoundland, have been violated by her; they are broken thro', and become mere nullities, as tho' they had never been.

been. And if we should hold the possession of Louisbourg, Canada and Newfoundland, with the coast of Labrador, one would think it easy to prevent her making fish in any of those parts, especially considering the great superiority of the British navy. Nor does it seem improbable that this whole fishery may fall into the hands of British subjects; unless we should perhaps hereafter have a ministry as complaisant to his Most Christian Majesty, and the court of Versailles, as that in the latter end of Queen Ann's reign, which complimented France with the best places for carrying on the cod-fishery, in all North-America; i. e. in the world. But at present, to be sure, there is no reason for any apprehensions of this sort. Now the destruction of the French fishery would be the destruction of one most material and extensive branch of her commerce, in which she was before our too successful rival. And this whole fishery, falling into the hands of Britain, would prodigiously increase her trade and wealth; giving her the advantage of supplying all those markets, which France supplied before? This would also be the lessening of the latter's maritime power in general, and the increasing, proportionably, that of Great-Britain. For France, being deprived of this fishery, could not employ and maintain so many seamen as heretofore, by many thousands; whereas we might then employ and maintain many thousands more than ever. This is a consideration of the last importance to the welfare and safety of Great-Britain, and of her colonies, if not of all Europe; her chief dependence and security, under divine providence, being placed in the superiority of her naval power; and keeping under that of France. For should France, whose ambition is so exorbitant and boundless, and whose power is so great on the continent, once become superior by sea, the liberties of Great-Britain, and perhaps of Europe, are no more.

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THESE are not all, but only ſome of the chief of thoſe ſecular and national advantages which occur to my thoughts, as naturally reſulting from, or having an apparent connection with, the great things which God hath lately done for us; more eſpecially in the reduction of Quebec, which, you will remember, I now conſider as being in effect the reduction of Canada, and bringing all the Indian ſavages into a friendly alliance with us. Whether that chain of reaſoning, by which I came to view it in this light, will hold together, and be ſtrong enough to ſupport ſo weighty and important a concluſion; or whether it be only like a rope of ſand, which cannot be even lightly touched without being broken to pieces, muſt be ſubmitted to the judgment of others: As alſo, whether, allowing it to be good, and duly connected, the advantages above-mentioned, may naturally be ſuppoſed, to flow from ſuch a conqueſt of the French in America, and ſuch an alliance with the Indians.

IF theſe inferences are not unjuſtly deduced, as it is humbly conceived they are not, what great cauſe have we to be glad and rejoice at this day; and to praiſe God for the great things which he hath done for us? Our religious, as well as civil privileges ſeemed, a few years ſince, to be in ſome danger from the growing power and encroachments of the enemy here, ſupported by France. For had they at length got the upper hand; we ſhould doubtleſs have been deprived of the free enjoyments of the proteſtant religion; harraſſed, perſecuted and butchered, by ſuch blind and furious zealots for the religion of Rome, under the direction of a prieſthood and hierarchy, whoſe *Wiſdom*, to be ſure, is not from above, if the characteriſtic of that which is ſo, is to be either *pure*, or *peaceable*, *gentle*, or *eaſy to be entreated*, full of *mercy*, or of *good* fruits, without *partiality*.

tiality, or without *hypocriſy* †! We have therefore reaſon to bleſs God for the ſucceſſes he hath given us, not merely on temporal and worldly, but on religious and ſpiritual accounts alſo.

We have often heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, what great things God did for them in their days; how he preſerved, and provided for them in the wilderneſs, when this was ſuch, which now rejoiceth and bloſſometh as the roſe; and how he, in part, drove out the heathen from before them, who were their enemies without a cauſe. But we now ſee, in our own days, greater things than thoſe! Our fathers, as they had abundant reaſon to do, earneſtly deſired to ſee this day, but did not ſee it: if they had, how glad? how joyful would they have been? And if thoſe who are fallen aſleep in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, inſtead of being periſhed, have, perhaps, ſome knowledge of the affairs of this lower world, I doubt not but that our pious forefathers, who ſuffered ſo much from their enemies here, would receive ſome acceſſion of joy even in heaven, by looking down from thence, and beholding what God hath done for us their beloved poſterity; how he hath avenged us of our, and their enemies; and by ſeeing the proſpect which we now have, by the bleſſing of God, of living peaceably and happily in this good land; ſo that tho' themſelves never could, yet we their deſcendents, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, and them that hated us, "may ſerve God without fear, in holineſs and righteouſneſs," the remainder of our lives.

Think it not ſtrange that you hear ſuch a ſuppoſition made, as that above. For altho' both tongues and prophecies ſhall ceaſe, yet "charity never faileth";

in

† James III. 17.

in heaven it is perfected in thoſe ſouls, which were endowed with a meaſure of it on earth. And charity, you know, " rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth ; " it delighteth in obſerving the felicity of others, and God's righteous acts, whereby his people and church are ſecured againſt their adverſaries, and put in a proſperous condition. Nor will it be amiſs juſt to obſerve here, that in the Revelation of St. John, the bleſſed above are introduced as praiſing God, I had almoſt ſaid, keeping a *Thankſgiving*, for his righteous judgments on earth, in delivering his ſervants from oppreſſion and perſecution ; particularly, from the perſecutions and oppreſſions of the " mother " of harlots, and abominations ; " that idolatrous and apoſtate church, which hath ſo long " made herſelf " drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus "— " I heard, ſays he, a great voice of much people in " heaven, ſaying, Alleluia ! Salvation, and glory, " and honor, and power, unto the Lord our God. " For true and righteous are his judgments ; for he " hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt " the earth with her fornication " [or idolatrous practices] ; " and hath avenged the blood of his ſervants " at her hand. And again, they ſaid, Alleluia ‖ !"

God hath revealed his purpoſe, his unalterable purpoſe, in due time, tho' gradually, to conſume and deſtroy the beaſt and the falſe prophet, with their adherents ; till in the end they " ſhall drink of the " wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out with- " out mixture, into the cup of his indignation " ; when there is to be a moſt ſignal revolution in the civil and religious ſtate of things in this world ; and all the kingdoms thereof are to " become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt. " And one might, perhaps, without any great degree of ſuperſtition or enthuſiaſm,

‖ Chap. XIX. 1. 2. 3.

from ſome late occurrences in Europe and elſewhere, not to ſay any thing of the order of theſe predictions themſelves, be inclined to think that this time of ruin to ſome, and reformation and joy to others, from the preſence of the Lord, when the " goſpel of the kingdom ſhall be preached for a witneſs among all nations," is at no very great diſtance from the preſent.

But however that matter may be, from ſpeaking poſitively of which, one would think every uninſpired man, endow'd with wiſdom and modeſty, would be very far; yet I cannot but juſt obſerve here, as a proper ground for gladneſs and rejoicing to all of us, who have any ſerious concern for the intereſts of religion, and the ſalvation of mens ſouls, that by the great things which God has lately done, and is ſtill doing for us, he ſeems, in his providence, to be preparing the way for a much more general and extenſive propagation of the goſpel among the ſavage nations of America; for enlarging the kingdom of Chriſt; and reclaiming from the error of their way to the wiſdom of the juſt, not only thoſe who are altogether heathen, but thoſe alſo who have hitherto been deluded and infatuated by the Romiſh miſſionaries, who " compaſs ſea and land to make proſelytes—" A field is opened to make ſome further attempts to this end. And altho' I would be be very far, eſpecially at this time of general and common rejoicing among us, from ſaying what might *juſtly* be offenſive to any; yet I cannot but add here, that if the honorable and reverend " Society for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts ", ſhould ſee cauſe to employ ſome conſiderable proportion of the charities entruſted to their prudent and pious care, in ſo noble an enterprize, ſo good a work, as that of goſpelizing the ſavages in the extenſive wilderneſſes of America, I believe all

all the world would applaud them. With all the deference that is due to ſo reſpectable a body, doubtleſs the great end of thoſe charities would, in this way, be at leaſt as much regarded and proſecuted, and perhaps better anſwered, than by ſupporting many miſſionaries at a great annual expence, in all the oldeſt, the principal, and richeſt cities and towns in theſe Northern colonies; where chriſtianity has been the general, common and eſtabliſhed religion for more than a century of years paſt.— But not to digreſs: Having thus attempted to ſhow, what great reaſon we have to rejoice and be glad at this time, by repreſenting the importance of that acquiſition which hath been ſo often mentioned, conſidering the great and happy conſequences that may, very probably at leaſt, flow from it; I proceed now as was propoſed,

III. To ſubjoin ſome uſeful and neceſſary regulations of our joy on this great and happy occaſion, that it may be reſtrained within due bounds, and flow in a proper channel.

And in the firſt place, we ſhould take heed that our joy is not leavened with pride and vain-glory, as tho' our ſucceſſes were wholly from ourſelves. This is what is very common with people on ſimilar occaſions. They are glad with a kind of ſelf-important, and ſelf-ſufficient joy, which ſwells them up, and is quite the reverſe of that rejoicing which becometh chriſtians. For man has nothing which he did not receive, whether ſtrength, wiſdom, courage or magnanimity: Why then ſhould he glory in it, or in the effects and conſequences of it, "as tho' he had not received it?"

THERE is another thing nearly allied to this, againſt which we ought alſo to guard. Many people who,

tho' they believe in the over-ruling providence of God, and are far from wholly attributing to themſelves, the glory of their victories and ſucceſſes, yet rejoice on ſuch occaſions under the notion of their having as it were merited them, by their ſuperior goodneſs and righteouſneſs. This is alſo a vain, proud joy, not becoming ſinful creatures. It is indeed poſſible, that we may not be altogether ſo guilty in the ſight of God, as our enemies whom he hath thus far ſubdued under us; but we are yet far from being ſo righteous ourſelves, as to have merited thereby the ſucceſſes which he has given us againſt them. And there is a remarkable paſſage in the book of Numbers, † ſo much to the preſent purpoſe, that I cannot forbear quoting it. The children of Iſrael were now about to paſs over the river Jordan, where God had promiſed to drive out the idolatrous nations from before them. But leſt they ſhould aſcribe this to their own great piety and goodneſs, he gives them the following caution and admonition: "Underſtand therefore this day, that the Lord "thy God is he that goeth over before thee as a con-"ſuming fire: he ſhall deſtroy them, and ſhall bring "them down before thy face: ſo ſhalt thou drive them "out, and deſtroy them quickly, as the Lord hath "ſaid unto thee. Speak not thou in thine heart, af-"ter that the Lord thy God hath caſt them out from "before thee, ſaying, for my righteouſneſs the Lord "hath brought me in to poſſeſs this land: but *for* "*the wickedneſs of theſe nations* the Lord doth drive "them out from before thee. Not *for thy righteouſ-*"*neſs*, or for the uprightneſs of thine heart, doſt thou "go to poſſeſs their Land: but for the wickedneſs of "theſe nations, the Lord thy God doth drive them "out from before thee."

† Chap. IX.

We ſhould, moreover, be very far from indulging to any kind of exceſs, or riotous joy, on this happy occaſion. Some there are, who ſeem to think they cannot be ſufficiently glad and joyful on ſuch occaſions, without behaving more like the ancient Bacchinalians, or madmen, than like Chriſtians and reaſonable creatures; running into many fooliſh exceſſes quite inconſiſtent, not only with chriſtian ſobriety, but with civil order. Let us be admoniſhed to abſtain from every kind and degree of extravagant, riotous mirth. "It is better, ſays Solomon, to hear the rebuke of "the wiſe, than for a man to hear the ſong of fools. "For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, ſo is "the laughter of fools: this alſo is vanity."

In the next place: We ſhould be at leaſt equally far from taking pleaſure in reflecting on the miſeries which our enemies ſuffer. We may, indeed, reaſonably rejoice that God has given us ſuch ſucceſs againſt them, as may probably put it out of their power to harm us for the future. But their calamities and diſtreſſes, conſidered in themſelves, are no proper ground of gladneſs to us. And if any part of our joy on this occaſion ariſes from hence, ſo far it is contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel. If we have good and benevolent hearts, we cannot but be touched with pity for thoſe unhappy people, however malicious they have been towards us; eſpecially for the poor women and children, who can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been "in this tranſgreſſion," with the reſt. Yea, if we could relieve them in their diſtreſſes, without hazard to ourſelves and the public, the great law of charity would oblige us to do it; whereby we ſhould fulfil that evangelical command, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; "if he thirſt, give him drink: For in ſo doing thou "ſhalt heap coals of fire upon his head."

AGAIN: We ſhould by no means pleaſe ourſelves with any ſuch thought as this on the preſent occaſion, that being at reſt from our enemies, we may hereafter have it in our power to lead a ſoft and luxurious, an indolent or effeminate life; conſuming the bounties of divine providence on our luſts. To pleaſe and delight ourſelves with any ſuch thought, with any ſuch hopes as theſe, were to rejoice, not as Chriſtians, but as Epicures; and would be a certain indication of a corrupt, ſenſual turn of mind.

BUT having dwelt long enough on the negative here, it may be proper to propoſe ſome more direct and poſitive rules, to guide and aſſiſt us in pointing our joy aright on this great occaſion.

AND here, in the firſt place, we ſhould "rejoice "in the Lord;" in him who has done theſe great things for us, whereof we are glad. We are to conſider God as the ſupreme author of our victories and ſucceſſes. "All that is in the heaven, and in the earth "is his; and in his hand it is to make great, and to "give ſtrength unto all." However brave, prudent and magnanimous the perſons are, or were, to whom we immediately owe theſe ſucceſſes, they are yet to be conſidered only as the inſtruments and ſervants of God, by whom he has wrought ſuch ſalvation, ſuch great things for us. Thine, O Lord! is "the glory, "and the victory, and the majeſty."

WE ſhould alſo aſcribe theſe ſucceſſes to God, not merely as the ſupreme cauſe and author, but as the gracious, merciful, and bountiful beſtower of them; whom we had laid under no obligation, in point of juſtice, thus to eſpouſe our cauſe, "when men roſe up "againſt us"; but who might, for our ſins, have given

"us

" us a prey to their teeth," however wicked and unrighteous our enemies themſelves may be ſuppoſed to be, or to have been. And indeed God, in his unſearchable wiſdom, ſometimes permits the wicked grievouſly to afflict ſuch as are more righteous than themſelves; wherein he is not unjuſt, ſince the " whole " world is become guilty before him."

It is moreover neceſſary, that our joy ſhould be accompanied with unfeigned gratitude, or truly thankful hearts. Gladneſs on ſuch an occaſion without ſincere thankfulneſs, which is very ſuppoſeable, and perhaps very common, would have no degree of piety or virtue; it would be but a natural, human paſſion, the offſpring of ſelf-love. It is only a grateful joy that becomes chriſtians, at leaſt, that will entitle us to that honourable character. And it is in this, that a religious *Thanksgiving* moſt eſſentially conſiſts; I mean, in having our hearts truly touched and warmed with a ſenſe of God's undeſerved goodneſs to us: Tho' it is highly expedient that this ſhould be outwardly expreſſed, by talking of his loving-kindneſs, by devoutly ſinging his praiſes, and aſcribing to him bleſſing and honor, glory and power.

Our rejoicing in the goodneſs of our God to us, ſhould alſo be attended with unfeigned good-will and charity towards men. Indeed a proper ſenſe of God's mercies has a natural tendency to ſoften and expand the heart of man; to fill it with the warmeſt wiſhes for the good, the eternal good of others. And if we feel no ſuch benevolence, or charity, in our breaſts, it is almoſt a certain ſign that there is in them no religious or virtuous joy; and that however full we may be of gladneſs or mirth upon this occaſion, it is only the mirth or gladneſs of ſenſual

ſual men ; of men under the influence of natural human paſſions and affections only, at beſt ; but poſſibly of ſuch as are much worſe, *unnatural* ones.

Moreover ; Our rejoicing in the goodneſs of God to us on this occaſion, ſhould be accompanied with ſincere reſolutions to make the moſt proper and worthy returns to him that we poſſibly can ; i. e. to keep his commandments, and live to his glory. Truly grateful and religious joy is never unattended with ſuch-like pious and virtuous reſolutions. And indeed, after all that has been ſaid in the former part of this diſcourſe, concerning the greatneſs and importance of thoſe things which God has done for us, the chief, or rather the ſum-total of the advantage is, that we may, if we have hearts for it, hereafter " lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs " and honeſty ; " to do which, is the ſupreme good of man in this world, and the only way to obtain immortal joys in the next.

Finally here ; We ſhould " rejoice with trembling ". We ſhould exerciſe an humble dependence upon almighty God, in whoſe hand all future events are ; whether proſperous or adverſe to us, we cannot certainly foreſee ; but we ſhall know hereafter. We ſhould be far from a vain confidence that God, who has done ſuch great things for us, will not in ſome other reſpects frown upon us, and ſorely chaſtize us. We may well tremble, or at leaſt fear in ſome meaſure, leſt he ſhould do thus : Eſpecially if, inſtead of making proper returns of love and obedience to him for theſe mercies, we ſhould forget, or miſimprove them. Even the proſperity of fools often deſtroys them, when their enemies could not do it. And when we conſider our own numerous frailties, follies

follies and corruptions, we may well tremble amidſt all our joys, leſt we ſhould prove as wicked and ungrateful as many have been before us; who ſung God's praiſes, but ſoon forgot his works; ſinking under the bleſſings they enjoyed, into indolence, diſſoluteneſs and impiety. How guilty ſhould we be, if we ſhould increaſe the number of ſuch, after God has thus manifeſted his great goodneſs to us, and laid us under ſuch obligations! However, what is here ſaid is by no means deſigned to damp, but only to regulate our common joy, and the hopes which theſe late ſucceſſes may naturally raiſe in us reſpecting our future proſperity; eſpecially if we ſhould conduct ourſelves, in conſequence of them, as becomes wiſe men and chriſtians.

IT were, indeed, an argument both of our inſenſibility and our ingratitude, not to rejoice on ſo noble an occaſion. We, I mean New-England, and all the Britiſh American plantations, had never ſo much cauſe for general joy as we have at preſent; while we ſee ourſelves in ſo fair a way, under the bleſſing of providence, to be wholly delivered from our enemies in theſe parts. Had the French retained their power, and independency of us here in America, we might be certain from more than an hundred years ſad experience of them, that they would ſtill be, not only our enemies, but falſe, perfidious and barbarous ones; and not only ſo, but that the greater part of the ſavages ſtill inſtigated, as they are already infatuated by them, would be our enemies alſo. Canada, even tho' the French ſhould relinquiſh all their encroachments, and retire within their old proper bounds, is yet ſo near to us, that it is impoſſible for Frenchmen, retaining their power, and their independency on Great-

Great-Britain, to inhabit that country without being pernicious enemies to us, in peace as well as war. Of this we have had experience, much more than ſufficient: We have ſadly felt the effects of their perfidy, and of long wars with the ſavages, wholly owing to them.

We have all along been more or leſs diſquieted, often greatly diſtreſſed, by theſe our American enemies: And there was a time, not long ſince, when we had conſiderable reaſon to apprehend what the conſequence might be; how far fatal to ourſelves, and the Britiſh intereſt in America. We had ſome reaſon for this, whether we reflect how the enemy conducted, or we ourſelves conducted, at that time: When they had a ſtrong chain of forts quite round us, and boaſted that they had us in a pound: When, not only all the perfidy, which is nothing new or ſtrange, but almoſt all the policy, the prudence, the military ſpirit, and I may add, the ſucceſs alſo, ſeemed to have fallen to *their* ſhare! Theſe things then look'd with a dark and threatning aſpect on the Britiſh affairs in America, and, conſequently, in Europe alſo. But bleſſed be God, that the ſcene is ſo much changed! "The ſnare is broken, and we are eſcaped." The power of the French is now broken, at leaſt here in America; and not likely to be recovered. Our heathen enemies have no longer cauſe to "ſhoot out the lip," to deride and inſult us, ſaying, Where is their boaſted ſtrength? "Where is their God?" Even they muſt now confeſs that the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof they alſo may in time probably be glad, how ſorrowful ſoever they may be at preſent. And having offered up our praiſes to heaven for theſe favours, we can now make no prayer more ſeaſonable, than that God would be pleaſed ſo deeply to impreſs our

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hearts with a sense of his goodness, that it may never be effaced; but that we may always remain humbly and obediently thankful for it.

If we have but hearts to live answerably to these mercies, we may expect to see far "greater things than these." We have given many outward demonstrations of our joy. To pass over some others, we have chim'd bells, and cannon have roar'd; bonfires have blaz'd on every hill; colors have been display'd; our houses have been gaily illuminated; and many a splendid rocket has been thrown to illuminate and adorn the skies themselves. Such have been the civil demonstrations of our joy on this great occasion. And we have now, as soon indeed as could well be, manifested our joy in a religious manner, by observing this day of public and general thanksgiving. The former I do not censure; the latter is doubtless to be commended. What remains then, but that we now give the highest and best evidence of all, that we have a just sense of these favours, and are truly thankful for them; I mean, by "denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and living soberly, righteously and godly in the world?" That we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty, is indeed the most, if not the only, rational and worthy end we can have in view, in any of our military undertakings. And when once providence has, or shall have, put it in our power to live thus, the great end of war being answered, we are wholly inexcusable if we live otherwise; particularly if we should "turn aside to vain jangling" amongst ourselves, "doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil-surmisings, and perverse disputings;" instead of "studying the things that make for peace, and the things whereby we may edify one another."

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If we ſhould henceforth live as becomes fellow-ſubjects, and fellow-chriſtians, in the fear of God, and brotherly-love, ſtill "abhorring that which is evil, and cleaving to that which is good," we might then reaſonable hope to ſee ourſelves eſtabliſhed without any rivals, much leſs perfidious and cruel enemies, in this good land, of ſuch a vaſt extent; and that our poſterity after us will alſo be glad of thoſe great things which God has done, and is ſtill doing for us. Even they will "abundantly utter the memory of his "great goodneſs, and talk of his righteouſneſs," if we and they become, and continue, a willing and obedient people. Yea, we may reaſonably expect that this country, which has in a ſhort time, and under many diſadvantages, become ſo populous and flouriſhing, will, by the continued bleſſing of heaven, in another century or two become a mighty empire (I do not mean an independent one) in numbers little inferior perhaps to the greateſt in Europe, and in felicity to none.

We ourſelves ſhall, indeed, be all gone off the ſtage long before that time, and "gathered to our fathers:" But our poſterity will remain. And I muſt own, if I may ſo expreſs it, that I feel a ſtrong affection working in me towards thoſe that are yet unborn, even to many generations. As I think with great ſatisfaction and delight on the happy eſtate of good men long ſince dead; eſpecially of our pious forefathers who firſt peopled this country, and underwent ſo many difficulties and hardſhips in this undertaking for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and during their abode here; ſo I delight in looking into furture ages, and ſeeing, at leaſt in imagination, the proſperous and happy condition of thoſe that are to ſucceed us.

I CANNOT help, neither do I desire to help, such imaginations; because they afford me at least an innocent pleasure; perhaps one that might claim even the name of virtuous. For all those pleasures that have their foundation in benevolence, and are the result thereof, are truly such. I cannot forbear fancying that I see a great and flourishing kingdom in these parts of America, peopled by our posterity. Methinks I see mighty cities rising on every hill, and by the side of every commodious port; mighty fleets alternately sailing out and returning, laden with the produce of this, and every other country under heaven; happy fields and villages wherever I turn my eyes, thro' a vastly extended territory; there the pastures cloathed with flocks, and here the vallies cover'd with corn, while the little hills rejoice on every side! And do I not there behold the savage nations, no longer our enemies, bowing the knee to Jesus Christ, and with joy confessing him to be "Lord, to the glory of God the Father!" Methinks I see religion professed and practised throughout this spacious kingdom, in far greater purity and perfection, than since the times of the apostles; the Lord being still as a wall of fire round about, and the glory in the midst of her! O happy country! happy kingdom!

I can scarce forbear fancying, that I hear a venerable sire talking after this manner to his child, of things that came to pass in old times, the days of his forefathers: "My son, these friends and brethren, of our's, "whom you see of a darker complexion than our-"selves, were once our heathen enemies, and vexed "our fathers in the wilderness; (for this was once "such!) At the same time there was a certain restless, "ambitious people in our neighbourhood, from a "far distant country, called France *in those days*, who "with

" with them, and without provocation, endeavoured " to deſtroy our fathers out of the land. But ſeveral " hundred years ago, when GEORGE the II. an " excellent King, ſat upon the Britiſh throne, and a " certain wiſe and good man, named PITT, was " his miniſter, a great General was ſent with a " little army, to take the enemy's chief city. The " name of this brave general was WOLFE; but the " name of the enemy's general is forgotten. All we " know of the latter is, that ſome time before, the army " *under his command* perfidiouſly murder'd a great " number of our people, after they had ſurrender'd " a certain fortreſs to him, and he had plighted them " his faith!—But the ſtrong city of the enemy I juſt " now ſpoke of, was taken after a bloody battle, and " their whole country was ſoon ſubdued. From that " time God, who lov'd our fathers, gave them reſt " on every ſide. They then grew and flouriſhed " mightily, and filled the whole land. Such great " things, my dear child! did God perform for our " fathers in the days of old; for which we have " cauſe to be glad and rejoice to this time, and " praiſe his glorious name!"—But whither will imagination tranſport me! into what times and regions, if I do not check it!——

EVEN theſe days, my brethren, wherein we live, I mean, ſince God hath done ſo great a thing for us, are far more joyful than any which our fathers ſaw; tho' far leſs happy than thoſe times which buſy fancy, the love of my dear country, and charity to unborn poſterity, would paint out to me, and almoſt compel me to believe are actually to follow.

WE can never be thankful enough to God for that intereſting event, which has been the main ſubject of my

my discourse, being the principal occasion of our present rejoicing. But alas! there is never any great good "in this present evil world," without some mixture of evil, at least of what seems to us to be so. This is the case, even with respect to that event, which is both so great in itself, and so happy in its probable consequences.——O untimely, tho' gloriously fallen! Mortal in thy body, but immortal all beside! immortal in thy deeds, immortal in thy memory, immortal in thy fame!——I can no longer forbear to mention his fall, which I have hitherto forborne with difficulty, even tho' it should cause a general gloom, and occasion the closing of this solemnity with less joy than it began.—Immortal WOLFE! untimely, but gloriously fallen! Untimely in respect of thy youth; without an heir to bear of thy great actions, to enjoy thy renown, or to inherit thy name! Fallen far from thy native, beloved country, and every near relative! Untimely for thy country, which needs such as thou wast to conduct and inspire her armies, and lead them on to victory! But still fallen gloriously for thy self, and for that country which gave birth to such a commander! Fallen in the service of thy king, and of that country, so dear to thee, and for which thou wouldst readily have laid down more lives than one! Fallen, tho' in youthful ardor, yet not without the prudence and wisdom of age! Tho' without an heir; yet such as thou wast need not children to bear up, and immortalize their name! And thou hast here left at least one whole grateful country where all, old as well as young, will honor thee as a father, and enjoy thy fame, as well as the fruit of thy toils! Tho' far from the country which gave thee birth, yet near one which would glory might it be said, that "this man was born here!" Tho' distant from every near relative, yet near to those, whose childrens children will "rise up and

and call thee bleſſed!" Fallen, tho' untimely for thy country ſtill engaged in war; yet not till thou hadſt ſav'd one country by conquering another! For tho' others uſe to couquer only while they lived, thou waſt a conqueror even in death! Whoſe fall, no leſs than whoſe preſence while living, inſpir'd the troops with a courage not to be reſiſted; and even turn'd what was before only fortitude, into fury, tho' not into madneſs!

When I reflect upon theſe circumſtances of his fall, I am obliged to retract what I ſaid before: He that fell ſo gloriouſly, did not fall untimely. No! He falls not untimely, who falls in the ſervice of his King and country with ſuch magnanimity, with the vigor of youth and the wiſdom of age united; eſpecially if he falls a conqueror, as this brave general did. Whoever falls thus in the diſcharge of his duty; thus greatly, thus victoriouſly, and with ſuch glorious circumſtances attending his fall, being ſuppoſed to be an upright good man, falls not immaturely, but "in a good old age." Whether he had lived many years or few, is little to the point. Not he that draws and reſpires this vital air the oftenеſt; not he that ſleeps the moſt nights, or wakes the moſt days; not he that paſſes thro' the moſt ſummers and winters; in fine, not he that ſees the moſt ſuns and ſeaſons rolling over him in ſucceſſion; this is not he that lives the longeſt, or that dies the moſt maturely. There is another, a far juſter ſtandard of age, of life and death: And he who lives the moſt uſefully, the moſt to the proper ends and purpoſes of life, lives, both the moſt honourably, and the longeſt, and makes the moſt mature, as well as glorious exit.—"Honourable age is not that which "ſtandeth in length of time, or that is meaſured by "number of years: But wiſdom is the GREY HAIR "unto men, and an unſpotted life is OLD AGE!"

My

My Brethren, tho' my heart relented when I began to ſpeak of this Britiſh hero's fall in the vigor of his life; yet by means of ſuch reflections as theſe, which are the ſuggeſtions, not of paſſion, that erroneous guide, but of reaſon, which will not lead us aſtray; by means of ſuch reflections, I ſay, I find my ſpirits ſo far returned, that I could now almoſt congratulate you on his noble exit, inſtead of condoling with you on it! However, not to carry this matter beyond juſt bounds: Who would not die as this brave commander died, to be both remembred and honored in future times, rather than live a while as ſome others have lived, and then die to be forgotten; or if not entirely forgotten, yet remembered only as having in their day given the moſt flagrant and inglorious proofs, that they were not in places adapted to their talents, when they were found at the head of armies!

But ſtill you will ſay, that not only we, but the nation, has ſuſtained a great loſs in the fall of this excellent commander. Far be it from me to deny this! But bleſſed be God, the nation has other wiſe, brave, and magnanimous commanders; One * at leaſt, perhaps ſeveral, now in America; and many more both at home and abroad. And he, on whom the command devolved at ſo critical a juncture, † and under whom that great enterprize was brought to ſo happy a concluſion, is doubtleſs another, to whom the like character juſtly belongs. Nor will Great-Britain ever be deſtitute of ſuch commanders, till either her happy government is ſubverted, and her liberties loſt; or till thoſe glorious times ſhall come, when inſtead of "learning war any more," all the nations which have hitherto by their mutual enmity and violence, been as it were ſcourges in the hand of almighty God, to

* Gen. Amherſt.

† Brig. Gen. Townſhend, on the fall of Gen. Wolfe.

puniſh one another for their ſins, ſhall at length "beat their ſwords into plough-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks;" being both too wiſe, and too virtuous, thus to "hurt and deſtroy" each other. At leaſt ſuch commanders will never be wanting in Great-Britain, during a reign and adminiſtration like the preſent, wherein ſuperior merit is ſo early obſerved, and ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed!

Let us not therefore deſpond under this loſs. We could not expect, according to the eſtabliſh'd courſe of human affairs, even under the peculiar favour and ſmiles of heaven, to do great things, or obtain great advantages againſt our enemies, without ſome circumſtances attending them, which cannot be thought of but with regret. It becomes us, therefore, to ſubmit with patience to what we could all wiſh otherwiſe, and to be heartily thankful for what is ſo agreeable to our deſires, ſo great in itſelf, and ſo important in its conſequences. "For ſhall we receive good at the "hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil?"

If ſuch reflexions as ſome of thoſe above, tho' I can hardly ſuppoſe it, ſhould ſeem to any not ſuitable to the preſent ſeaſon, or to a day of general joy and thankſgiving, I have only this apology to make: That they were in a manner forced upon me by that great and happy event itſelf, which is the ſpecial occaſion of our rejoicing. For, to have taken no notice of the fall of that excellent general, by means of whoſe almoſt unexampled bravery and good conduct, this important acquiſition was made, would have been both ungrateful and inhuman. And if it were mentioned at all, not to have ſpoken of it in a grave and ſerious, but light and indifferent manner, would have been ſtill more ungrateful and inhuman, with the additional bad circumſtances of being groſly abſurd and unnatural, not to

ſay

say impious. For, not only the fall of such distinguished personages, but death itself, is a very grave and serious subject to be thought or spoken of. Do any of you doubt it? You will soon be of the same opinion: For, human life is short, and "after death the judgment!"

This further *serious* reflexion would not have been added to the former, had not the speaker chosen to see this assembly dissolve, each one with a grave and solemn brow, much rather than with an air and countenance of thoughtless levity, tho' the occasion of our coming together was so truly joyful. And indeed, they must be wholly strangers to virtuous and religious joy, far the noblest and greatest of any, who think sobriety and gravity inconsistent with it, which are in reality essential to it. Let us therefore, when we depart from the house of God, depart in his love and fear, with hearts thoroughly impress'd by a sense of his goodness, and the obligations which he hath laid us under to keep his commandments. Doing thus, we shall still "walk in the light of his countenance," and still praise him while we dwell on earth. And when we depart this world, so full of discord, strife and war, and even the most prosperous events whereof, have still some disagreeable alloy, we shall depart, having our "hope full of immortality;" and our hearts, of that "PEACE OF GOD which pas-"seth all understanding." AMEN!

The end of the second Discourse.

APPENDIX.

Containing a brief Account of two former Expeditions againſt QUEBEC and CANADA, which proved unſucceſsful.

MANY people amongſt us, both in the town and country, who have heard frequent mention of former enterprizes againſt Quebec and Canada, have probably, either thro' want of books, or leiſure to conſult ſuch as are of any conſiderable length, no diſtinct knowledge of thoſe unfortunate expeditions. This is a ſeaſon wherein there is of courſe much converſation about that city and country; and many who may have a curioſity, have not the advantages before-mentioned, to acquaint themſelves even with the moſt material facts and circumſtances relating to thoſe enterprizes. We are by no means to cenſure ſuch a curioſity in our countrymen and fellow-ſubjects, whoſe ſituation in life will not admit of their giving much of their time to reading. It is at leaſt innocent; the author of the foregoing diſcourſes thinks, laudable; and ſuch an one as ought to be encouraged rather than damped. He therefore propoſes in ſome meaſure to gratify it, by this appendix. Beſides; reflecting on theſe former unſucceſsful expeditions, has a natural tendency to heighten our joy and gratitude on account of the laſt, which has been ſo proſperous. Such a contraſt will probably have a good effect. So that this may anſwer a valuable end, beyond that of merely gratifying the curioſity of the leſs informed reader.

WERE the enſuing account to be prolix, it would not be adapted to the circumſtances of thoſe, for whom it is principally deſigned. It will therefore conſiſt chiefly of a narration of facts, and ſome material circumſtances. Theſe will be moſtly collected from Sir H. Walker's *Journal*, and the *Appendix* thereto; Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, and Mather's *Life* of Sir W. Phips; which I here mention once for all. But when the expreſſions of either of thoſe writers are uſed, notice will be given by the uſual ſign of a quotation. However, this account, tho' ſhort, will contain ſome brief hints and obſervations reſpecting the cauſes of our miſcarriages and diſaſters, in the two former attempts againſt Canada.

BUT it will not be amiſs, before we proceed to the account propoſed, juſt to obſerve that Quebec was long ago reduced by the Engliſh; becauſe this will furniſh us with an obſervation or two, very pertinent by way of introduction; as tending to lay open, both the motives of the French in giving us ſuch frequent diſturbances from that quarter, and the great

reaſon

reaſon we have had on our ſide, repeatedly to attempt the reduction of that place.

QUEBEC was reduced 130 years ſince, in the reign of K. Charles I. viz. A. D. 1629, by admiral Kirk or Kertk, with a fleet from England. But it was ſoon after delivered up to France again in purſuance of a treaty, viz. 1632. And as it did not fall directly within the deſign of this appendix to ſpeak at all of this expedition, it is paſſed over with a bare mention of theſe facts; which are taken notice of chiefly with a view to the following obſervations.

FATHER Charlevoix, the noted French Jeſuit and hiſtorian, tells us, that tho' the French court was much ſhocked and offended at the Engliſh for taking Quebec; yet, excepting reaſons which touch'd their honor, there were many who doubted whether they had ſuſtained any real loſs thereby; and whether it were expedient to demand the reſtitution of it. † It ſeems, according to this hiſtorian, that there was a great diviſion in the court of France upon this point. It was warmly debated; and many reaſons were aſſigned by ſome, why the reſtitution of Quebec ſhould not be inſiſted on. Theſe reaſons, or objections, were particularly anſwered by thoſe on the other ſide of the queſtion, who finally prevailed. By the latter it was, ſaid, amongſt other things, that the climate of New France would grow milder by degrees as the country was more and more opened: That this could hardly be doubted, ſince it was ſituated under the ſame parallels with the moſt temperate countries of Europe: That the climate was healthy, the ſoil fertile: That with a little labour the inhabitants might procure all the conveniences of life: That France might every year ſend a ſmall number of families, ſome ſoldiers, with ſome young women that could well be ſpar'd, for breeders, and diſpoſe of them in Canada, in ſuch a manner that they might *extend themſelves in proportion as they multiplied:* That this would be an excellent nurſery for ſeamen: That the peltry, or furr-trade, would alſo be of conſiderable advantage: That for ſhip-building, the foreſts of Canada would furniſh them with an ample ſupply, being, as they ſaid, without contradiction, the fineſt in the univerſe: And laſtly, That only the motive of keeping the Engliſh from *making themſelves too powerful* in this part of America, by joining both ſides of the river St. Lawrence to ſo many other provinces, where they were already well eſtabliſhed, *was more than ſufficien*

† —"Mais les raiſons d' honneur á part, bien de gens douterent "ſi l'on avoit fait une véritable perte, & ſi l'á propos de deman- "der la reſtitution de Quebec."

ſufficient to induce them to make a point of recovering Quebec, whatever it coſt them. *

IT is not to be wonder'd at, that theſe reaſons prevailed in the court of France. It were needleſs to obſerve how punctually the French have regarded them ever ſince; particularly in *ſending over a number of families and ſome ſoldiers every year, with ſome women*, that they might *extend themſelves* gradually as they *encreaſed*; or, in other words, make encroachments upon us; and, in conjunction with the ſavages, *keep us from becoming too powerful in North America.* At the ſame time, theſe things, and the French acting all along upon theſe maxims, without any regard to juſtice, humanity or honor, equally ſhow that our repreated ſtruggles and efforts to retake Quebec, tho' not by way of *treaty*, as they did, and as they have *taken* many other places firſt and laſt, but by force of arms, were not without ſufficient grounds. Whether the ſame reaſons will, or will not, hold equally good for maintaining Quebec to the laſt, or *at any rate whatever* within the bounds of juſtice, belongs not to us to determine.—There are others who know far better, what *can*, and what is *fit* to be done, than we can pretend to; in whoſe wiſdom, integrity and patriotiſm, we may ſafely confide, as it is our duty to do.

I FEAR I have been too long in this introductory part of the appendix: But the beſt apology that can be made, is to proceed directly to the propoſed narrative.

THE firſt of the two former expeditions againſt Quebec and Canada, of which ſome account was to be given, was in the reign of K. William III. ſixty-nine years ago, viz. A. D. 1690. No Britiſh troops were employed therein. But the people of New-England, having been continually moleſted by the Canadians, and the Indians in their intereſt; and having been very ſucceſsful this ſame year in reducing Port-Royal, now Annapolis, with all Nova-Scotia, reſolved on this more important and arduous enterprize

* "Enfin, que le ſeul motif d'empecher les Anglois de ſe "rendre trop puiſſans dans cette partie de l'Amérique, en joignant les deux bords du Fleuve S. Laurent á tant d'autres pro- "vinces, où ils avoient déja de bons etabliſſemens, étoit plus que "ſuffiſant pour nous engager á recouvrer Quebec, a quelque "prix que ce fût." Hiſt. et Deſcript. de la N. France, Tome I. Liv. IV.

terprize againſt Quebec. For it was then, and indeed long before, plainly ſeen, that we were never to expect any peace or quiet in theſe northern Britiſh colonies, while Quebec was in the hands of ſuch neighbours as the French. Sir William Phips, the next Year Governor of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, was a lover of his native country, and of an active genius. He was accordingly a zealous promoter of this expedition, and was put at the head of it, as commander in chief.

In this expedition there ſailed from the port of Boſton, thirty-two frigates and tranſports, having on board, beſides ſeamen, about 2000 New-England troops. The largeſt ſhip, or admiral, carried 44 guns. The ſeaſon was far too much advanced before the fleet took its departure from Boſton, which was not till the 9th of Auguſt. It did not arrive before Quebec till the 5th of October. A 1000 Engliſh provincial troops, with 1500 Indians, were to have marched about the ſame time from Albany, and to have proceeded by the way of lake Champlain, in order to attack Montreal, or at leaſt to divide the French forces, and make a diverſion that way, in favour of the fleet and army up the river St. Lawrence; and thereby facilitate the deſign of reducing Quebec, which was the grand point in view. But, for certain reaſons which cannot here be particularly mentioned, the forces did not proceed at the weſtward, according to the original plan. Which, in part, occaſioned the ſubſequent miſcarriage of the expedition up the river: I ſay in part; for there were other cauſes concurring; particularly ſickneſs amongſt the troops there, and, poſſibly, want of ſufficient experience in the officers for ſuch an undertaking; to the ſucceſs whereof, bravery was not the only thing neceſſary.

October 6th, Sir William ſummoned the French governor, count Frontenac, to ſurrender; from whom he received the following anſwer, "That Sir William Phips, and thoſe "with him, were traitors to their King,* and had taken up "with that Uſurper the PRINCE of ORANGE, and had "made a *revolution*, which if it had not been made, *N. England and the French* would have been ALL ONE; and that "no other anſwer was to be expected from him, but what "ſhould be from the mouth of his cannon." [Magnal.] The winds continued ſo high and boiſterous, that it was impracticable for the army to land before the 8th, when all the effective men, being about 1400, were landed under the command of lieut. general Walley, about 5 miles below the city,

* James II.

on

on the north ſide of the river. They had that day ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy; a few being killed on both ſides. They advanced ſome way towards the city; but the cold was now ſo ſevere, that the feet and hands of many were frozen; and others were taken ſick with the Small-Pox. Beſides: the enemy having ſeaſonably learnt, a conſiderable time before, that they were in no danger of having any diſturbance towards Montreal, our army that way having returned, drew all their ſtrength from thoſe parts; regular troops, Canadians and Indians; and in ſhort made themſelves much ſuperior in the field. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons for not advancing farther towards the city, in order to aſſault, or beſiege it; and the troops were ſoon re-imbarked. Sir William, however, in the mean time, had brought ſome of the ſhips up to bombard the city; and had his own ſhip ſhot thro' in near 100 places. A French writer, BaronLaHonton, then atQuebec, makes himſelf very merry with this bombardment; telling his reader, that hereby the place ſuffered damage to the amount of about "5 or 6 piſtoles." He is alſo very ſevere on the conduct of Sir William. He ſays, "he could not have done leſs than he did, if the French had hired him to ſtand ſtill with his hands in his pockets." This is doubtleſs an injurious reflection on him. For conſidering the bad weather, the cold, the ſickneſs, the ſmallneſs of his force, the failing of the intended diverſion at the weſtward, and the conſequent ſtrength of the enemy at Quebec, it was hardly poſſible to have done more than he did; tho' that was indeed but very little to the purpoſe.

It was Sir William's deſign, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, afterwards to have landed the troops in the face of the city, under cover of his cannon, and to have taken it by ſtorm; the troops, as well as himſelf, being ſtill full of ſpirit and reſolution. But ſoon after, "a violent ſtorm "aroſe that ſeperated the fleet, and the ſnow and the cold "became ſo extreme, that they could not continue in thoſe "quarters any longer." And it was probably well for them, all circumſtances being conſidered, that they did not attempt to put this latter deſign into execution; the enemy being at leaſt 3 or 4,000, and perhaps 5 or 6,000 ſtrong.

To ſay that the ſame number of veteran troops, under an experienced commander, and other regularly bred officers, could not have done more under the ſame circumſtances, is much more than I preſume to do. But yet it can hardly be

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed poſſible, even for ſuch to have reduced the city, under all thoſe diſadvantageous circumſtances.

THUS ended this expedition, with the loſs of about 1000 men in the whole, and ſeveral tranſports in their return from Quebec: An expedition, certainly ill-timed, being undertaken ſo late in the year. And hereby was incurred an heavy charge to this government; which gave riſe to the firſt emiſſion of a paper currency among us; a moſt pernicious ſcheme, the bad effects of which we have not got over to this day; the fortunes of many, and perhaps the morals of more, having been ruined by it.

HOWEVER, we ought to ſpeak with honor of Sir William Phips. Tho' neither his education, nor his experience afterwards, and poſſibly not his genius, qualified him either for the profoundeſt policy, or for a great military command, he was a brave, honeſt man, of an enterpriſing turn, a lover of his country, and zealous for its honor and ſervice; qualities which certainly make his character and memory reſpectable. And here, at the cloſe of this brief account of his unfortunate expedition, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak of one circumſtance to his honor, told in the *Lives of the Admirals* before mentioned, tho' relating to quite another Affair. Sir William, then only captain Phips, had, by the interceſſion of Chriſtopher Duke of Albermarle, obtained a ſhip of King Charles II. in order to fiſh on a rich Spaniſh wreck on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. He went, and returned without making the deſir'd diſcovery; a conſiderable proportion of the profits ariſing from which, was to have gone into the King's coffers, for the expence he had been at in fitting out the ſhip. Captain Phips being again fitted out by private adventurers on the ſame deſign, made the diſcovery; and returned to England with £. 300,000 Sterl. in ſilver. "On his arrival, there wanted not ſome, who would have perſuaded the King to ſeize his ſhip and cargo, under the pretence that captain Phips had not given an exact information, when he applied for licence, and the royal aſſiſtance: but his Majeſty generouſly anſwered, that he knew the captain to be an honeſt man, and a man of honour; and that if he had brought home twice as much treaſure, his proprietors ſhould divide it. His Majeſty farther expreſſed his ſatisfaction by knighting him." *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. 2. p. 376.

THE

THE other former, and much greater expedition againſt Quebec and Canada, was in the reign of Queen Ann, twenty one years after the above mentioned, viz. A. D. 1711. The late Lord Viſcount Bolinbroke, then only Mr. St. John, ſecretary of ſtate to the Queen, appears to have had the chief hand in planning and directing this expedition. There were ſent from England either 11 or 12 line of battle ſhips, (for accounts differ) 1 frigate, 2 bombs with their tender, and 32 tranſports with ſeveral regiments, making in all upwards of 5000 men; as alſo 8 tranſports and tenders belonging to the train of artillery. Sir Hovenden Walker was the admiral of the fleet, and general Hill commander in chief of the Britiſh troops. It ſeems they were delayed ſome time in the channel of England by contrary winds; at which Mr. ſecretary St. John, in his letters then written to the admiral, expreſſes the greateſt concern and uneaſineſs. After being put back ſeveral times, from the 28th of April to the 5th of May, the fleet at length proceeded from Plymouth, and continuing its voyage, arrived at Boſton June 24th, without any material diſaſter; when the troops were debarked, and encamped for ſome time on Noddle's iſland. To theſe were joined two regiments from the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and New-Hampſhire; all which were deſtin'd againſt Quebec and Canada, by the way of St. Lawrence.

GENERAL Nicholſon was at the ſame time to take under his command a body of militia from Connecticut, New-York and the Jerſies, together with the Indians of the five, alias ſix nations, which we commonly, tho' not quite properly, blend all together under the general name of Mohawks. This army under the laſt mentioned general, was to proceed by the way of Lake Champlain, in order to attack Montreal, or at leaſt to make a diverſion in thoſe parts; and by keeping the enemy at bay there, to forward the reduction of Quebec by the fleet and principal army. With this view they proceeded from Albany towards the lake; tho' not till the 20th of Auguſt. Of what number this army conſiſted, I have either never exactly learnt, or have forgotten; probably about 3000 including Indians. This army we now leave in its progreſs towards the lake, and return to the other army and the fleet.

IT is ſaid by ſome, that theſe were delayed at Boſton a long time for want of neceſſary proviſions, ſome ſeamen, &c. and

and this thro' the negligence, or rather the mercenary and wicked deſigns of certain perſons here, whoſe buſineſs it was to forward them with all poſſible expedition. The admiral and general, to be ſure, were loud in their complaints, not againſt particular perſons only, but the government in general. For the former, in one of his letters to governor Dudley, then in the chair, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: "I concur, ſays he, with the opinion of all the ſea and land officers here, that the *government* of this colony have prejudiced the preſent expedition, inſtead of aſſiſting it." And ſuch repreſentations were ſent home, of this matter, as left, for ſome time, impreſſions on the minds of many perſons there, much to the prejudice and diſadvantage of this government. As to the negligence, ill deſigns, or ill conduct of ſome particular perſons; thus far the accuſation might poſſibly be juſt; which, however, I do not aſſert. But the imputation, as it reſpected the government, and people in general, was doubtleſs a very unworthy one, to ſay nothing worſe of it. No government could well be more zealous in promoting any expedition; all the people in general had the ſucceſs of it greatly at heart: and it may be added, that as much was done by the government to promote it, as could well be done, conſidering their circumſtances, and that they had little or no previous warning to make the needful preparations. A great genius, Jer. Dummer, Eſq; while agent for this province at the court of London, in his excellent defence of our charter, long ſince did the government and province juſtice; and wiped off theſe foul and baſe aſperſions, by ſetting this matter in a true and clear light.

But to whatever cauſe or cauſes, the delay of the fleet and army at Boſton was owing, the fact is, that they did not proceed from hence on the expedition till July the 30th; much too late for ſuch an enterpriſe, at ſuch a diſtance, thro' ſuch a navigation, and in ſuch a country as Canada. The fleet, when it took its departure from hence for the river, conſiſted of about 68 or 70 ſail, having on board 6,463 troops, including the provincials. Being got into the gulph of St. Lawrence, and having taken a French prize, the people of which gave the moſt diſcouraging and formidable accounts poſſible, the admiral in his journal writes thus, Auguſt 15th; from whence it will appear, not only how much he was deceived in ſome reſpects, but how much he was diſconcerted by that means: "Having informed myſelf

myſelf by all means poſſible, ſays he, of the nature of Canada river, both from the French and Engliſh, I ſtill perceive there were more difficulties to ſurmount than could have been imagined; for the maſter of the French prize, who had made forty voyages, as he told me, in that river, out and home, aſſured me no ſhip ever winter'd there, but hazarded every thing, rather than let the froſt overtake them. That between the mouth of the river and Quebec, being about 130 leagues, there was *neither road*, *bay*, or *harbour*, where ſhips could be in tolerable ſecurity; that he *never found ground*, tho' he tried with a line of 400 fathom; that the ſhoar was ſteep too all along, being exceeding high and mountainous, and in moſt places you ſhould have 100 fathom *within a cable's length* of the ſhoar; in ſome parts as deep water, and the ſhips ſides touching the rocks. That it has been impoſſible for any perſon—to know the currents—; that *fogs* and *ſtorms* were ſo frequent, as they might well be eſteem'd *continual*," &c. &c. But theſe things I leave without pretending to determine, whether this admiral were then the more eaſy believer, or the Frenchman the greater L——r.

On the 18th of Auguſt the fleet was not far from the mouth of the river; but the wind blowing hard againſt them, as the admiral ſays, he put into the bay of Gaſpee, to the ſouthward. There they were detain'd till the 20th, when they made ſail for the river. The night of the 23d, being thick and dark, and the advice of the Engliſh pilots, as they declar'd, not being follow'd by the admiral, prov'd fatal to part of the fleet, and put an end to this expedition. Being enter'd the river as far as the egg-iſlands on the northern ſhoar, eight tranſports were there caſt away, and near 1000 people periſhed; amongſt whom, however, there were none of the New-England troops. About ten days after, the fleet put into Spaniſh river in the iſland of Cape-Breton. After conſulting there ſome time, what was to be done, particularly whether any thing ſhould be attempted againſt the enemy at Placentia on Newfoundland, it was at length determined in a council both of land and ſea officers, that it was impracticable to do any thing; except to return directly to England, after giving general Nicholſon, whom we left in his progreſs towards Montreal, advice of the diſaſter which had befallen them: For his now going forward could anſwer no valuable end. The fleet accordingly took its departure from Spaniſh river Sept. 16. In a ſhort

paſſage

paſſage they were in ſoundings near the Britiſh channel; and Oct. 16. the admiral's ſhip then lying at anchor at Spithead, was blown up, with moſt of his papers, and many people on board, the admiral himſelf being on ſhore. No diſcovery was ever made, by what means this happened. Some have thought it was not an accidental thing, but done with deſign, as being the moſt expeditious and ſafeſt way of ſettling the voyage. However this ſuggeſtion ſeems hardly credible.

THUS ended the ſecond, grand expedition againſt Canada; that of admiral Kirk mentioned above, not being here reckoned as one. "The charge incurred by the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay was ſomething more than £.24,000 ſterling, allowed by parliament." Doug. Summ.

THERE were three circumſtances eſpecially, attending this expedition, either of which might probably have proved fatal to the ſucceſs of it without the other two. In the firſt place, it was much too late in the year before the fleet ſailed from England. In the next, ſeaſonable notice had not been given here, to make preparation for its arrival, and for that part which the colonies were to bear in the enterprize. And laſtly, there was want of a number of throughly and ſufficiently experienced pilots for the river; at leaſt, of ſuch as the admiral, who was doubtleſs a gentleman of very good ſenſe and accompliſhments, could place full confidence in, and rely upon; which ſeems to have entirely diſconcerted him. Some have hinted at deep, dark and treacherous deſigns, relative to this expedition. Nor is it ſtrange that there ſhould have been ſome ſuſpicions of this ſort, conſidering who were then at the helm, and how ſome other matters were carried on about that time. But that there was really any treachery in the caſe, is by no means clear, or certain; and perhaps, upon laying all things together, very improbable. However, it is quite beyond the deſign of this appendix, to make any ſort of inquiry into that matter; which, to be ſure, would be of no advantage to thoſe, whoſe gratification was propoſed hereby.

As the account of theſe two expeditions was introduced with the mention of one which preceeded them, when both Canada and New-England were in their infant ſtate; it may be follow'd with the mention of another, which was planned ſince theſe; but without being carried into execution, or ſo much as attempted, except ſo far as the enliſting of troops here for that end. This was during the laſt war,

war, viz. in 1746. The orders from Great Britain for making these levies, were dated in April that year. Many troops were raised in the colonies on so important an occasion; some of which were rendezvous'd at Saratoga above Albany. But at length, to our great surprize and mortification, in October of the following year, orders were received here for disbanding the troops. Why this design was not then prosecuted, there are others that know better than the author of these few pages.

But be thankful, my countrymen and fellow-subjects, that what all who have well understood, and heartily desired, the true interest of British America, ever esteemed the grand, essential point, is now gained. QUEBEC, after repeated struggles and efforts, is at length reduced: QUEBEC, I had almost called it that Pandora's box, from whence unnumber'd plagues have issued for more than an hundred years, to distress, to enfeeble, to lay waste, these northern colonies; and which might, perhaps, in the end have proved fatal to them! An acquisition, the consequence of which, *if maintained*, must prove, not only the utter ruin of the French power and interest in America; but in time, according to the natural course of things, the exalting of these little provinces and colonies, as it were into as many kingdoms; and consequently, the raising of the British empire in Europe, on which they will continue dependent, to an height and dignity amongst the nations, which it never knew before. However, altho' this is not a *sermon*, it may be just added here, that under the government and providence of God, all this will depend, in some measure, on our own wisdom, virtue and piety: For even our prosperity, without these qualities, may prove our ruin. A pagan said wisely, whether justly or not, as applied to ancient Rome,

"Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas:
"Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum"!

Which being put into a more christian stile, in plain prose, may be expressed thus: You are exalted above other nations, because you are virtuous, and *walk humbly with your God:* From hence deduce the origin of your power, its increase and grandeur; and to the contrary ascribe its fall!—Or you may take the sum of it in the words of a *certain wise King*, who flourished in the days of old: "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

To conclude: However unfortunate the former expeditions against Canada were, in the reigns of K. William and Q. Ann,

Q. Ann, especially the latter, wherein the fleet met with such difficulties and disasters; the last of all has been attended with such prosperity, as will gloriously distinguish the reign of K. GEORGE II. In the success of whose fleets and arms the elements seem now to interest themselves, for bringing down the pride of France.

"O nimium DILECTE DEO, cui militat æther,
"Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!" Claud.

O HEAV'N-BELOV'D! The skies their succours lend;
Thy arms the tides, and rolling seas, befriend,
And winds conspiring on thy fleets attend!

TILL pride shall cease its neighbours to invade,
And swains at ease enjoy their humble shade:
Till guilty spears shall cease to blush with gore,
And swords be drunk with christian blood no more;
Till harmless those in pruning-hooks are found,
And these in plough-shares mark the furrow'd ground:
Till exil'd PEACE returning from above
To human-kind propitious, heav'nly dove!
Shall olive to each clime, each country bring,
And spread ore nations wide her soft'ring wing:
Till wrath and hate are banish'd in their turn,
And ev'ry breast with purer flames shall burn!
Till then, O HEAV'N! till then indulgent smile,
Freedom thy guardian care, and BRITAIN's isle!
Till then HER liberties protect; for those,
Not to her Monarchs, but to THEE she owes.
GREAT SOURCE of liberty! the Tyrant's AWE,
Boundless in pow'r, but goodness still thy law,
Till then such Kings as GEORGE to Britain lend;
Such ministers as PITT successive send;
Such admirals as late have rul'd the main;
Such generals as fought on ABRAH'M's † plain;
(WOLFE, not till death immortal; NAME renown'd!)
Or AMHERST still with annual laurels crown'd!—
So lawless power shall bend, and Britain's rise,
That creep in dust, and this ascend the skies,
While earth's oppressors half-repentant stand,
Aw'd by the justice of her lifted hand;
And wild ambition feels THY chast'ning rod
Till KINGS MOST CHRISTIAN may—believe A GOD!

† The late field of battle near Quebec, so called.